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THE FAITH OF SOKA GAKKAI

Takuya Kudō

Introduction by Mr. Yoshirō Tamura

In trying to secure some one to tell us about Sōka Gakkai,^a we discovered that members of Sōka Gakkai do not, as a matter of principle, talk about or give addresses concerning their faith. They are willing to preach or endeavor to convert, that is, *shakubuku*,^b you in order to make you a follower of their faith, but they are not interested in merely talking about their faith. This is the condition on which the Reverend Takuya Kudō,^c who is a member of Sōka Gakkai and a priest of the Nichiren Shō Sect, has consented to be here today. I am sure that under these circumstances you will get a very clear idea of what Sōka Gakkai stands for.

There are many things that I would like to say today, but the allotted time will permit me to discuss only a very few of them. At the outset, however, I would wish to make it clear that in speaking to you I do not represent the Sōka Gakkai or the Nichiren Shō Sect. On the contrary, I speak only as one who is a sincere follower of the Great Saint Nichiren (1222—1282).*

I am a believer of Sōka Gakkai and a priest of the Nichiren Shō Sect. Eight years ago, because of deep suffering, I thought

a. 創価学会 b. 折伏 c. 工藤卓也 d. 日蓮正宗

* In referring to Saint Nichiren 日蓮 the speaker always used the term, *Dai Shōnin-sama* 大聖人様 ed.

that death was the only solution and so contemplated suicide. However, on the third day I experienced salvation and today I am filled with a very great joy because a follower of Sōka Gakkai converted me to his faith. I did not understand the theory but, as one who contemplated death, I underwent an unforgettable experience.

The Sōka Gakkai faith consists in earnestly believing and practicing the teaching of the Great Saint Nichiren. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that all members of Sōka Gakkai clearly understand his teaching, the essence of which concerns the daily life—past, present, and future—of all human beings. This teaching gives absolute and complete happiness to all human beings.

Sometimes religion is regarded by some people as morals or as a kind of ethical training, spiritual entertainment, a tranquilizer, or even a hobby. In the case of the Great Saint Nichiren, however, this was not the case. He emphasized that religion should permeate one's daily life, that religion is life. He contended that not any of several, but only *one religion*, that is, *his own*, was true. He said that there was only one truth, and that all other religions caused unhappiness in the world.

Seven hundred years ago, when the Great Saint Nichiren lived, he attacked all the established religions, such as Zen,^a Shingon,^b and the sects that invoke the name of Amida,^c as injurious to the welfare of the nation. He said that Zen was a spiritual devil, Shingon a teaching that would destroy the nation, and that calling upon the name of Amida would bring

a. 禪 b. 真言 c. 阿弥陀

people to the bottomless hell. He said that the Ritsu^a Sect, was an enemy of the nation. All these evil religions, he said, were the cause of the misfortunes of Japan. This may give you an impression of being very one-sided; but such is not the case. It is in accord with reason. His faith is the very best. All others are error.

The Great Saint Nichiren used various yardsticks to prove that his teachings were true. For example, one yardstick is literary evidence (*monshō*)^b, another is theoretical evidence (*rishō*)^c, and a third is actual evidence (*genshō*)^d. Other kinds of yardsticks are the five categories (*gokō*)^e, the five-fold relations (*gojū-sōtai*)^f, and the four-fold selection and rejection (*shijū-kōhai*)^g. Using these yardsticks he established that his own faith was the best and that all others were inferior.

Most Buddhists in present day Japan have lost sight of these yardsticks. Some of them look at religious matters from an academic standpoint. Some deal with them from the standpoint of popular psychology. Moreover, they say that it is not necessary to attack other religions. They claim that each one may have its own truth, and that we should not attack others.

This attitude arises from ignorance. Sakyamuni Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, himself said that there was only one Buddha-vehicle by which the people could be saved. This is the attitude of the believers of Sōka Gakkai and Nichiren Shō Sect; and this is the reason why the Nichiren Shō Sect and Sōka Gakkai are so persistent in insisting that there is only one truth, and that their faith is the truth based on the words of Sakyamuni Buddha himself. This is the faith of the members

a. 律 b. 文証 c. 理証 d. 現証 e. 五綱 f. 五重相對 g. 四重興廢

of these organizations and the priests of the Nichiren Shō Sect believe that it is their duty to deepen this faith in the members.

The teaching of the Great Saint Nichiren is centered in the object of worship (*honzon*)^a which has wonderful power. The object of worship is the foundation of our faith. One of the Great Saint Nichiren's followers, Saint Nichikan^b (1765—1726) said that for all who worshipped this object, every wish would be fulfilled, all sins would be forgiven, every kind of happiness would be attained, and any knowledge that a follower might desire would be revealed. This object of worship gives such power and strength to the followers through the chanting of the Sacred Title, "Adoration to the Scripture of the Lotus of the Perfect Truth" (*Namu Myōhō-enge-kyō*)^c.

The Great Saint Nichiren held that this object was to be worshipped not only in Japan but eventually throughout the world. In one of his writings he said that this object was destined to be worshipped in the entire world. Thus, the time will come when the entire world will join in the chanting *Namu Myōhō-enge-kyō*, and that time is indicated by the expression "proclamation and perpetuation" (*kōsen rufu*)^d.

Sōka Gakkai is an organization of laymen which belongs to the Nichiren Shō Sect and tries to uphold and practice the teaching of the Great Saint Nichiren. It aims to achieve the ideal of spreading his teaching throughout the world in order to promote the happiness of all mankind.

Thus far I have spoken only of my own experience, but I

a. 本尊 b. 日寛 c. 南無妙法蓮華經 d. 広宣流布

am only one priest. There are many followers who were once on the brink of death and were saved by the teaching of Sōka Gakkai. There are many people who have been declared by physicians to be hopeless cases, but have been saved by chanting *Namu Myōhō-renge-kyō*.

If I had not been so fortunate as to have had a friend who sought to convert me (*shakubuku*) I would have died long ago. Now that I have been saved, I am so grateful that I live on day by day with absolute confidence. I am full of zeal in order to share my experience with those who do not know this life.

The Great Saint Nichiren said that those people who do not believe in his teaching and do not believe in the Lotus Sutra* will lose their Buddha-nature forever. They will be reborn in hell when they die. I am convinced that this is true. Hell does not mean a separate or different physical existence. It means a state in which this physical body feels pain and is subject to suffering. In Christianity people speak of heaven and in Buddhism some sects speak of becoming Buddha or of rebirth in the land of bliss. This may be taken as a very representative expression for attaining absolute peace. We can prove this through the three evidences mentioned above, but now I shall try to prove it through actual evidence (*genshō*).

The Great Saint Nichiren on many occasions mentioned the beneficial effects of chanting *Namu Myōhō-renge-kyō*. Any faithful follower of his teaching, who chants this sacred formula sincerely at the time of death, will show signs of having been

* *Hoke-kyō* 法華經. This is a shortened form of *Myōhō-renge-kyō* 妙法蓮華經 (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* Skt.).

saved. For instance, if such a person has a very dark skin and a bad complexion, his skin will become white and beautiful. The weight of his body will become very light like cotton. The substance of his body will become very soft. But those who believe in evil religions will show an opposite condition. The color of the face will become dark and ugly, and the body will be very stiff. This is a phenomenon which medical science cannot satisfactorily explain.

I speak from my own experience. When a dead person shows a change of color and his body stiffens, he shows that he has suffered before death. This is concrete evidence that the faith, which such a person held during his lifetime, was evil and not the true religion. Contrariwise, when a person dies very peacefully and has an expression similar to that of a Buddhist statue, this shows that during his lifetime he must have held the true faith. I have seen hundreds of dead persons and there has not been a single exception to this rule. The greater my experience has been, the deeper my respect for the words of the Great Saint Nichiren has become.

The Great Saint Nichiren also said that if you want to understand the cause of something in the present you should look into the past. If you want to know what the outcome in the future will be, look at the present. Thus, the condition of a dying person is a good yardstick to his future life. That is, if a person dies very peacefully, then it is evident that he will enjoy a blissful life in the future world.

The Great Saint Nichiren covered everything even up to the moment of a person's death. There are many families whose ancestors or present members have not known the existence

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of this teaching. Some of them, when they die, reveal a very pitiable condition. But when a member of the family is converted to Sōka Gakkai, then within two or three hours the stiff body of a dead person becomes very soft.

I am speaking from personal experience. There are many cases of such changes occurring even when people have been dead a long time [*but before cremation Ed.*]. In view of the fact that such changes can be brought about in dead bodies, how much more remarkable phenomena can be brought about in the case of the living who are converted to the faith!

Now, returning to a more fundamental point, although Sakyamuni Buddha preached for many years and taught all kinds of doctrines, he nevertheless held that the Lotus Sutra was the highest scripture and that it revealed the highest truth. However, in Sōka Gakkai, Sakyamuni Buddha is not the object of worship. Sakyamuni Buddha is not the Buddha of this present age. Sakyamuni Buddha predicted that in the Latter Days,* after a lapse of 2,000 years, his teachings, even the Lotus Sutra, would lose their effectiveness, and that when that time came a *bodhisattva* by the name of Jōgyō^a would appear in a country to the east of India.

This eastern country can be none other than Japan, and this *bodhisattva* predicted by Sakyamuni Buddha can be none other than the Great Saint Nichiren. Therefore, Sōka Gakkai and the Nichiren Shō Sect regards Sakyamuni Buddha as the "trace Buddha" (*shaku-butsu*)^b and the Great Saint Nichiren as their real object of worship. Although *bodhisattva* means "a person

a. 上行 b. 迹仏 * Mappō 末法,

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who is on the way to becoming a Buddha," the Great Saint Nichiren, who is Jōgyō Bosatsu,^a that is, the savior of the Latter Days, is regarded in substance as the "original or true Buddha (*hon-butsu*)". This is the most fundamental point in our doctrine.

As you no doubt know, there are a great many religious groups in Japan whose followers chant the same formula as we do, so the question may arise in your mind as to which is the true sect. There are two yardsticks by which we can pass judgement on this matter. One is the difference in the object of worship. In other Nichiren sects the spirit of some animal, such as a snake or dragon, is revered as the object of worship. Another difference is in the treatment of Sakyamuni Buddha. Most of the other groups regard him as their real object of worship. Sōka Gakkai, however, considers the Great Saint Nichiren to be the real spiritual object of worship. Consequently, it can be concluded that the Nichiren Shō faith is a religion which gives the most truthful teaching and can secure happiness for all human beings.

It was seven hundred years ago that Saint Nichiren first chanted the sacred formula, *Namu Myōhō-renge-kyō*, so you may well ask, if this teaching is so truthful and can provide such happiness, why it did not spread more rapidly. But there are many factors involved here. Actually it could not spread quickly because the time had not come for it to do so. But now is the ideal time for spreading this teaching. This is symbolized in the expression "proclamation and perpetuation" (*kōsen rufu*)^b.

a. 本仏 b. 広宣流布 * Bosatsu 菩薩 is the Japanese for *bodhisattva* (Skt.)

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The Great Saint Nichiren admonished his followers to wait for the proper time ; and that time has now come with the appearance of Sōka Gakkai in this present era. This was predicted by the Great Saint Nichiren and is evident in the phenomenal growth of the organization.

It was in 1937 that the first president, Tsunesaburō Makiguchi^a (1871—1944), established the " Value-Creation Education Institute " ("Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai ")^b and began propagating his ideas. But in 1943, when it began to spread, the Japanese government, which spiritually has supported traditional Shinto, persecuted the group and Makiguchi and his associate, Mr. Jōsei Toda^c (1900—1958), were put in prison.

Unfortunately, Makiguchi died in prison. So at the end of hostilities, when Toda was released, he courageously undertook to propagate the teachings alone by appealing to the people to awaken spiritually after defeat and to follow the teaching of the Great Saint Nichiren.

Mr. Toda re-organized the members in 1946, and in 1951, when he was appointed the second president, he inaugurated a program of advance by means of forced conversion (*shakubuku*). When he assumed office Mr. Toda said that during his life-time he would win 750,000 households and give them spiritual salvation. This prediction was fulfilled in approximately seven years.

At present Sōka Gakkai adherents number about 1.5 million households. Of this total, some 50,000 are young people who have their own special division. These young people are engaged in studying Buddhist philosophy, Christianity, and

a. 牧口常三郎 b. 創価教育学会 c. 戸田城聖

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various social sciences as a means of spreading their faith throughout the world.

Mr. Toda died in April, 1958, and this year (1960) Mr. Daisaku Ikeda^a became the third president. Many people—non-believers—predicted that Sōka Gakkai would diminish in strength and die after the death of Mr. Toda. But this prediction has been proven false, because Sōka Gakkai is a faith founded on truth, on faith itself, and not on an individual. Emphasis is placed on the depth of the faith of each individual believer and not on the teacher-pupil, master-disciple relationship, or even a horizontal relationship between the members. The members are all controlled by one standard, the same faith. The depth of faith plays an important role in this organization. Not much importance is attached to individual personalities. The solidarity of the group is maintained and strengthened by making depth of faith central. As long as there is genuine faith Sōka Gakkai will live forever.

That this is actually the case can be shown by concrete evidence; the result of our conversion efforts, which have been fully published in the organ newspaper, *Seikyō Shimbun*.^a Since the installation of the third president last May, phenomenal growth has been achieved. In the month Mr. Ikeda assumed office and during June and July approximately 35,000 household were added each month. In August, however, 65,000 new households embraced the faith. This was the result of one month's effort, and is an unprecedented figure. Thus it can be seen that Sōka Gakkai is growing and the followers are spreading the teaching at the risk of their lives.

a. 池田大作 b. 聖教新聞

DISCUSSION

Q. In regard to the method of counting by households instead of individuals, does this mean that in each case all members of a family are believers?

A. Not all the members of each household are believers. In some cases the wife is a believer and the husband is opposed. However, the group counts all the members of each household as believers even though only one member is a real believer. There may be as many as 5 million individual believers. We do not know. The person who brings faith into the family may be the wife, husband, or even a child.

Q. Is a new believer responsible for converting the rest of the family?

A. It is not an obligation or responsibility in the strict sense of the term. The followers come to know that others are ignorant of the true religion and it follows that they will want to share their newly won happiness, their faith, with those who are ignorant. So efforts to convert develop naturally.

Q. What are your daily obligations? What are the moral teachings for everyday living?

A. A person who wishes to become a believer must go to a Nichiren Shō temple for a ceremony much as a Christian must accept baptism. He is then a member and receives a copy of the object of worship, the *honzon*, which he enshrines in the family altar. Morning and evening he chants the sacred formula before this altar and offers prayers for whatever he wishes for his daily life. That is the only change that oc-

curs.

Q. What is the object of worship, the *honzon*, like?

A. The object of worship is not a statue or image. It is made of paper, but what is written on it is not for publication.

Q. Do the members of Sōka Gakkai also belong to the Nichiren Shō Sect?

A. No, there are some members of Sōka Gakkai that are not members of the Nichiren Shō Sect and, since Nichiren Shō Sect is very old, there are some members of that faith that are not members of Sōka Gakkai, which is a new organization. However, many members of the sect are coming into Sōka Gakkai because they admire the deep faith and enthusiasm of the organization. In the near future Sōka Gakkai will publish a book in English which explains its true doctrines.

— 終 —

A VISIT TO TAISEKIJĪ, HEAD TEMPLE OF SOKA GAKKAI

Noah Brannen

The week beginning June 12, 1960, promised cloudy skies with the advent of the rainy season. But, what was even more foreboding, a restlessness and throbbing resentment, carried through the arteries of the press to the nation—intensified by the scheduled visit of President Eisenhower—indicated that another kind of storm was in the offing.

It was no time to visit Mt. Fuji,^a but here I was, sprawled out over the narrow third class seat, and half-way across the aisle of the overnight "up-train" for Tokyo. Two hours before the train was due in Tokyo Station, with a small *detache* case of clothing in one hand, a heavy briefcase of books in the other, a cumbersome umbrella stuffed under an arm, and un-combed hair stuffed under a straw hat, I detrained at Fuji Station.

From here I was to make a couple of transfers before reaching my goal, but connections were good and I found myself at the main gate of Taisekiji,^b the chief temple of the Nichiren Shō^c faith, before eight o'clock.

Already we had met six crowded buses on the way, but there seemed to be no end to the crowd of visitors. When I arrived there were some three or four hundred people waiting in line,

a. 富士 b. 大石寺 c. 日蓮正

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in groups, under banners that read "Osaka^a District," etc. There was a man at a microphone giving instructions so that the crowd could board the buses with a minimum of confusion.

Everywhere young men wearing red arm-bands were running about discharging some responsibility. Later in the day a group of young men—about 200 in all—were singing the Sōka Gakkai^b theme-song with gusto under the leadership of a young man who went through all the animations of a pep-squād leader. The expressions on some of the faces were as if their lives depended on this song and the way they sang it. Inside the main gate at the entrance of each of the twelve lodges which lined both sides of the path to the Worship Hall^c, two or more young men served as keeper-guides, each with a Sōka Gakkai badge in his lapel.

There were women with babies on their backs, bandaged and sickly people, old men and women. One woman was leading her blind husband—they stepped away from the crowd and she found a place for him to rest for a moment.

Everyone was orderly. There seemed to be no drinking or loud activity. Without exception everyone preparing to leave on the endless line of buses bowed first before the main gate. All showed deep respect for elders and those who were evidently teachers.

It was azalea time. Though earlier in the morning it had been almost cold. Now it was warming up and the clouds were lifting. Later in the day the top of Mt. Fuji, still snow-capped, was visible, floating on the clouds. Along the long path azalea hedges were dazzling in their brilliance. The wide stone walk

a. 大阪 b. 創価学会 c. 奉安殿

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was bordered on both sides by a small, artificial stream of water. Beyond this, symmetrically on each side, were stone walls which enclosed the twelve lodges.

Topping the stone walls were the azalea hedges, some hanging luxuriously down the sides, smaller plants gaining a toe-hold in crevices between the rocks of the wall. Purple azaleas made the red ones look orange.

There were pink azaleas and blue azaleas. And, in the distance, throughout and the surrounding temple enclosure, huge, majestic cryptomerias lent an atmosphere of age and stability.

Finally I was introduced to the head of the student department of the Sōka Gakkai, Mr. Watanabe^a. When I had stepped through the main gate I had noticed a tremor of uneasiness run through the crowd. I was a foreign intruder—evidently an outsider. Suitcases, umbrella, and straw hat—and, in addition, a "high nose" and blue eyes. I was just as confused as they. I had written to the business office but had never received an answer. The temple was much larger than I had expected. In all this multitude of visitors I had no choice but to throw myself upon the mercy of the two men who came over to ask if I hadn't gotten off at the wrong bus stop or something. Eventually I made my purpose known and was guided to the temple headquarters of the Sōka Gakkai. After about an hour a young, clean-cut fellow (about 24) came to the gate where I had been waiting and asked me to come inside. I was led to the central building of this group—actually a small temple with altar. Here I was served tea and exchanged the formalities of introduction with Shirotaka Watanabe,^a the head

a. 渡辺城堯

of the student department.

I told Watanabe frankly that I was a Christian and a missionary (something I hadn't mentioned to the various others who had questioned me), and that I had come to Taisekiji to get the answers to some of my questions. He was honest and frank. Why in the world had I come to the temple? Why hadn't I visited the headquarters of Sōka Gakkai in Tokyo where they were only too willing to answer any questions I had? I replied that I wasn't satisfied with some of the answers I had received from certain Sōka Gakkai members; I wanted to talk to the priests and religious scholars. These, I said, I expected to be able to find at the head temple.

Through Watanabe I gained entrance to the Great Lecture Hall^a and finally met Priest Jigaku Mizutani^b, the General Business Manager of Taisekiji. Mizutani and two other priests (one of whom was about 30 years old) met me in the conference room decorated in excellent modern taste, with foam-rubber upholstered chairs. We exchanged introductions and Mizutani informed me that he had been expecting me. We were served tea. The atmosphere was friendly, and after I had once more carefully stated the purpose of my visit, Mizutani informed me that they were ready to help me to understand their faith to the best of their ability.

I noticed that each of the priests had entered the room carrying a small, flat folder or book. I never managed to see what it contained. The priests were dressed in the plain white denim robes of their faith. The over-garment was of beautiful undyed silk.

^a. Dai Kōdō 大講堂 ^b. 水谷慈嶽

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I had three specific questions in mind and hoped that the conversation would proceed from there. The first question was :

1) Do you respect or worship Sakyamuni? The answer was "No." When I ventured to compare Sakyamuni with Dainichi^a and Amida^b I was told that he was of an entirely different nature. "Nichiren is held to be the one and only Buddha who has any relationship or saving power for us who live in the days of the Latter Law."

2) What is your attitude toward Toda^c? The answer was that he was considered to be the greatest among the laymen. Upon his death he was given the title-rank of "Chief of all the preachers of the Hoke-kyō."^d

3) What is your attitude toward "*The Theory of Value*?"^e The priests said that they do not usually study this book in the course of their preparation. It is recommended to the layman to read—especially to the scholastic minded—as a first step on the way to faith.

There are three ways of leading men: establishing the contact,^f by examples and illustrations^g, and the preaching of the *dharma* itself^h. Hence the priests recognize a gradual climbing of the ladder of faith. When questioned, however, they said that there are no ranks among those who have attained buddhahood.

In the course of the conversation the priests told me various details of religious services and activities of the Taisekiji. The ceremony for the accession of a new abbot upon the death of

a. 大日 b. 阿弥陀 c. 戸田 d. Hokke Kōsō Kōtō 法華講總講頭
e. Kachi-ron 価値論 f. innen setsu 因縁説 g. hiyu setsu 譬喩説
h. hossetsu 法説

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his predecessor^a was conducted on November 17, 1959, and Nittatsu Shōnin^b (age 58) became the 66th abbot in the direct succession from Nichiren. At this time the tooth of Nichiren with flesh^c growing on it—said now to have completed the circumference and thus ushered in the time of the dissemination of the doctrine—, and other treasures were shown to the believers.

Each year on April 7 there is a sort of house-cleaning service^d at which they display the *maṇḍala*, called the *Shishin gohonzon*,^e which Nichiren prepared especially for the Emperor and his family when they shall have been converted to the true faith.

The ceremony, which marks a new believer's entrance into the faith, is called the "reception of the precepts^f." This, I was informed, corresponds to Christian baptism. The *maṇḍala* is received on top of the head, and a replica of the Great *Maṇḍala* written by the hand of Nichiren is received and taken home to become the central object of worship of the believer's house.

The collection of the writings of Nichiren, Nikkō, etc., is considered as the Bible^g of this faith, and within these scriptures the five books of chief importance^h are the *Risshō Ankoku-ron*ⁱ, the *Kaimoku-shō*^j, the *Kanjin Honzon-shō*^k, the *Senji-shō*^l, and the *Hōon-shō*^m. These five are also referred to as the *Namu Myōhō-rence-kyō*ⁿ. I expressed surprise that these

a. *Dai-gawari* 代替 b. 日達上人 c. *onikuge* お肉牙 d. *omushibarai* お虫払
 e. 紫宸御本尊 f. *gojukai* 御受戒 g. *gosho* 御書
 h. *godaibu* 五大部 i. 立正安国論 j. 開目抄 k. 観心本尊抄
 l. 撰時抄 m. 報恩抄 n. 南無妙法蓮華經

should be equated with the Sacred Title^a which is the distinguishing mark of this faith. The answer was that it is this formula which contains the essence of all the writings and ministry of Nichiren, and it is this formula which contains the meaning of the *Hoke-kyō* which in turn contains all the meaning of all Buddhist sutras.

The conversation shifted then to the subject of the exclusiveness of Nichiren Shō faith, and I asked if the priest would help me to distinguish between it and the Nichiren Sect. One of the priests supplied me with this simple comparison. In the Nichiren Sect the Buddha is Sakyamuni, the *dharma* is the *Namu Myōhō-rence-kyō* of the letter of the Hoke-kyō, and the priest is Nichiren. In Nichiren Shō Sect the Buddha is the Holy One, Nichiren, the *dharma* is the *Namu Myōhō-rence-kyō* of the Three Great Hidden Laws^b, and the priest is Nikkō^c. It was requested that if I ever wrote anything for publication on the Nichiren Shō faith to remember above all else that the faith centers in "The great true object of worship of the altar of the basic doctrine of the Great Holy One, Nichiren"^d — in other words, the treasured *maṇḍala* kept at Taiseikiji.

Before the conference ended I was able to ask a few incidental questions on obscure points which were not covered in the dictionaries, and also to make some miscellaneous queries. For example: What about the "merit of first belief"^e. The priests said that such merits are definitely recognized, but that these were small merits and that the great merit may not be

a. Daimoku 題目 b. Sandai Hihō 三大秘法 c. 日興 d. Nichiren
 Dai Shōnin no Honmon Kaidan no Dai Gohonzon 日蓮大聖人の本門戒壇の
 大御本尊 e. shoshin no kudoku 初信の功德

realized immediately. What about karma? Aren't there some karma effects that no amount of faith will erase? Yes, but the effects of karma may be minimized and weakend. Furthermore, there is hope for the final elimination of the effects of evil karma in future lives.

I was not able to stay in the lodgings of the temple because I was a non-believer. Mizutani was very helpful, however, and secured for me an upstairs room in an inn operated by a Sōka Gakkai member, just at the entrance of the temple grounds. From two walls of sliding glass panels I could look full face upon the main gate where everyone arrived and from which everyone boarded the buses. I could see their first and last acts of worship. *Nammyō-hō-rengē-kyō*, *Nammyō-hō-rengē-kyō*, *Nammyō-hō-rengē-kyō* ;* they intoned the chant three times in sonorous tones as they stood before the gate facing toward the Main Hall,^a the original worship hall. The chant was followed by a brief rubbing of the prayer beads between the palms of the hands, then a bow (sometimes twice).

From the window I watched the pilgrims as they lined up preparing to board the buses. Everyone seemed to be carrying a small bundle of green leaves. Later I discovered that these were leaves of the magnolia^b (the Chinese anise), which is the only "flower used to decorate the altar of this faith. Little stands temporarily erected around the temple outskirts sold them along with books and other supplies for study and worship.

The main gate had recently been painted a brilliant lacquer

a. *Miedō* 御影堂 . b. *shikimi* 柹 -genus

* In chanting the Sacred Title the words *Namu Myōhō* becomes by elision *Nammyō-hō*. Ed.

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red. It appeared to be about eight stories in height. Measuring I could count 12 *ken*^a, which means that it is 72 feet wide. My host later verified my calculations and said that it is the second largest wooden temple gate in Japan.

The various groups under their banners, lined up in front of this gate waiting to board the buses, represented various districts throughout Japan. Each district is appointed a time to come during the visiting days—from Saturday to Monday. For example, the first week of each month is designated for the Kansai district, etc. Worshippers come in groups both for the sake of economy (it costs each member 250 yen for a night's lodging, including meals—though they bring their own rice), as well as for efficiency in handling them. The purpose of these visits to Taisekiji is to worship the Great *Maṇḍala*, which is revealed to the believers at a special service of worship. During their two-day visit there are various discussion meetings, an evening lecture on the scriptures, held in the big auditorium, seating capacity 5,000. Some enjoy sight-seeing in the foothills of Mt. Fuji^b. And, of course, all pay their respects to Toda's grave.

The endless line of believers! Endless! Until 12:00 o'clock noon I hardly saw a break in it. After lunch, however, I noticed that the crowd seemed to be decreasing. According to my host they would all be gone by evening. By 1:00 p.m., sure enough, there was no one waiting before the main gate, and workmen and women were already beginning to sweep the walks and sprinkle water to settle the dust.

a. 間 b. 富士

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I took a walk up to the pagoda. Even before I had time to take in the exquisite beauty of the five-roof building itself, guarded on all sides by giant cryptomeria, the bushwarbler called from a pine thicket and I was entranced. Can the mocking bird back home sing like this? I thought. There at the pagoda was Toda's grave. The urn to hold burning incense had already cracked because of the heat of the many, constant prayer offerings, and a new open urn had been provided.

At 2:00 o'clock I was walking along the path, returning to my quarters, when I heard the chant of many voices, intoning the familiar "*Namyō-hō-rengē-kyō*" over again. A bell rang—a call to prayer. From the Guest Hall^a, priests began to descend and hastily form a line. One younger fellow was late. Later I learned that this was a special service in the Worship Hall where the *maṇḍala* is kept, especially for the leaders of Sōka Gakkai who had remained after the main crowd returned.

Along the azalea-lined path there were entrances to guest houses with such names as Rentō-bō^b, Honjū-bō^c, etc. The ending -bō means "room" or "temple." In this case it refers to a lodging place within the temple precincts. There are six of these guest houses on each side of the walk, the largest one accomodating 450 guests. A priest is in charge of each and lives here with his wife and family. Mizutani, I learned, besides being business manager, is in charge of the Hyakkan-bō^d (No. 4).

Toward evening the gate turns back into a typical Japanese temple entrance. The luster fades, the loving hands rubbing

a. *kyakuden* 客殿

b. 蓮東坊

c. 本往房

d. 百観坊

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rosaries having returned to the cities. Now country children use the majestic structure as a back-stop for their soft-ball games, or hide the thimble up behind the sacred name plaque. A man and his wife going home from work cross the threshold without so much as a bow.

Supper time, and all is deserted. Mt. Fuji floats silently in a white mist.

On Monday evening after supper my host guided me through the temple grounds and showed me the various buildings. An old gate, the original one a led to the temple enclosure. The main gate visible from my window was built in 1713 under the auspices of Tennei'in^b, wife of the 6th Tokugawa *shogun*^c, Ienobu^d. Further along the path there was another, much smaller gate, called the *Nitenmon*^e, a truly lovely wooden structure. Passing through this gate we saw, on our left, a small building which houses a large drum, and opposite it on the right another which houses the temple bell. Immediately ahead, the goal to which the path leads, was the main hall which is now being painted and repaired. This hall was constructed in 1629 at the time of the 18th patriarch, Nissei^f, under the auspices of the wife of the Lord of Awa^g. From a glance I gained through the door and from pictures which have appeared in the organization's publications, the interior of this hall must be very much like that one described by Lloyd in *The Creed of Half Japan*^{*}:

a. *sōmon* 総門 b. 天英院 c. 將軍 d. 家宣 e. 二天門 f. 日精 g. 安房

* Arthur Lloyd, *The Creed of Half Japan*, (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1911) p. 295 Footnote.

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‘.....there is an absolute *stūpa* or tabernacle, such as we found in the ancient *chaityas* in India, and symbolical of the *stūpa* which descended from heaven in chap. xiv of the “Saddharma-pundarika.” In front of this tabernacle is the usual “table of prothesis” which is to be found in all Buddhist temples in Japan, and in front of that, again, what may be called the Choir, with the desks for the monks. Over this part, which comes about the middle of the building, is a baldacchino, or umbrella, from which hang strings of flowers in thin brass, the whole being intended to symbolize the “Pentecostal” shower of celestial flowers with which the action of the “Saddharma pundarika” commences.’

In the main hall the Great Holy One, Nichiren, is the object of worship, and it was here that the installation of the new abbot, St. Nittatsu, was announced to Nichiren last fall.

Returning in the direction of the main gate, after we had passed through the Nitenmon we took the path to the right which led through a large, new gate. This gate opened on a modern, ferro-concrete, six-story lecture hall, a very impressive building^a, which is a monument to the enthusiasm and administrative skill of the Sōka Gakkai movement. The building was dedicated on March 1, 1958, and a total number of 210,000 believers are reported to have made the pilgrimage to celebrate the event. Nearby a smaller, extremely modern concrete building^b, a recreation hall and resting place containing 1,000 mats*, was also contributed by the Sōka Gakkai. Now the Sōka Gakkai is raising funds for the rebuilding of the Guest Hall, a secondary worship hall for large groups, which was burned during the war through the carelessness of Japanese troops which were quartered here.

a. Dai Kōdō 大講堂 b. Dai Kejō 大化城

* One mat measures 3ft. by 6ft.

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Behind the present temporary Guest Hall is located the Worship Hall where the "holy of holies," the sacred *maṇḍala*, is kept. This concrete, fire-proof building in old Buddhist style of architecture was also built by the Sōka Gakkai.

In addition to these buildings there are the numerous residences (*bō*) where the priests live and where guests are entertained overnight. And beyond the graveyard, across a concrete bridge (also built by the Sōka Gakkai), up a long flight of granite steps, almost completely hidden from view in a grove of ancient cryptomeria, stands the truly beautiful five-roof pagoda, with the new tomb of Jōsei Toda^a (d. April 2, 1958) beside it. This pagoda was started in 1713 at the same time as the main gate, built through the initiative of Tennei'in, wife of Ienobu, but it was not finished until the time of the 31st patriarch, Nichi-in^b, through a gift of Katsusumi Itakura^c, Lord of Kameyama^d Castle. The pagoda faces west, the direction of India, for, as my host explained, just as the moon rises in the west and proceeds to the east, so Buddhism originated in India and came to Japan; but the sun rises in the east and proceeds to the west—symbolic of the true faith which arises in Japan and proceeds to India and the west. All other buildings face south.

After I had returned to my room my host came in for a chat. He was eager to have me resolve all my questions and doubts and become a devout believer as he and his wife are. He told me about himself. For ten years he had served in the police department at Numazu.^e After this, he spent eight years in China directing the inspection of wool, hemp and cotton. After the war he returned to his native home at the entrance

a. 戸田城聖 b. 日因 c. 板倉勝澄 d. 龜山 e. 沼津

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of Taisekiji. He remembers the temple as it was in the days before its current face-lifting through the efforts of the Sōka Gakkai. But he himself is now a fervent Sōka Gakkai member. He told me of how he had been a classmate of the present abbot for eight years. Priests are sent to the temple at the age of eight and attend the public school nearby. My host is convinced that the Nichiren Shō faith is the one, true faith for the world. Over and over again he urged that no other faith would satisfy. Only his faith gives true happiness—the goal toward which all humanity is striving.

In four years you will not recognize Taisekiji, he promised. In four years time ten percent of the Japanese adult population will have been won to the faith. Already there are missionaries in every country in the world, except France, England, and Russia. There are numerous American servicemen, who, with their Japanese wives, are spreading the faith on the American continent and Hawaii, he claimed. Speaking of Sōka Gakkai activities in the political world, especially in view of the growing intensity of the situation with respect to Eisenhower's proposed visit, he said with confidence that there would be no Sōka Gakkai participation in the strikes and demonstrations. We are, on the surface, neutral toward politics, he said, but underneath we are all for the government party and Kishi. Kishi's wife came to worship here, he boasted.

Together we looked at various books which I had brought with me. I explained how far I had advanced in my study and what the object of this research was. He shook his head when he realized that I was content with such a superficial investigation. You will never understand until you believe, he

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repeated again and again. He went to his room to bring back his scriptures, and we read from it together. Several places he had marked—especially to help him win the non-believer. He was always kind and considerate, eager to try to see my point of view, but never yielding in his prime objective—to win me over.

The temple bell was ringing when I awoke the next morning at four thirty—a soft, sustained tone—as if at some great distance, unhurried—as if someone were standing beside it, meditating, and now and then was inspired to strike it a blow.

When I returned from my early morning walk my host was in his room reading aloud from the scriptures, in the familiar chant. Later in the day I returned to the inn and smelled incense as I climbed the stairs. This time the voice I heard was that of the wife. Was this her time of day to say prayers? Members are taught to pray twice a day—morning and evening. The morning prayers are called *goza*,^a and the evening prayers are called *sanza*.^b Performing these prayers is the first of the two obligations of a believer, and is called *gongyō*.^c The other obligation which every believer must assume is called *shakubuku*.^d

In the afternoon Priest Mizutani guided me through the new six-story ferro-concrete building, the Great Lecture Hall. It is of very modern design, equipped with self-operating elevators, conference rooms exquisitely furnished, small assembly rooms with mat floors, and a large auditorium (also with mat floor) which accomodates from four to five thousand worshippers. There is, in addition, an extensive roof garden (over the auditorium), and a classroom for priests who come in the summer

a. 五座 b. 三座 c. 勤行 d. 折伏

for training sessions.

The head abbot, Nittatsu Shōnin,^a is young—58 years of age. Mizutani explained that it was good that he was so young and strong since his duties are strenuous. He has official duties^b in the middle of the night. From 1:00 to 3:00 o'clock a.m. his duty was the "great peace to the people^c". Other duties concern the offices of respect that must be paid to the various worship objects in different buildings. Just going from one to the other is more than exercise. Priests live ordinary lives, no different from the laymen. They shave their heads and wear a special white garment, but otherwise they marry, take three meals a day, smoke, drink—anything, as long as it is not to excess. (On my first evening trip with my host we had engaged one priest in conversation who had evidently overstepped the line of moderation with respect to drink.)

I noticed that very little mortar is used in the building structures. One priest whom we met explained that in this area of Japan the earth is not suitable for use as mortar because of lack of clay, and that building materials have traditionally been confined to wood with metal, or thatch roofs. This condition is certainly attested to in the surrounding farm dwellings. But it is also characteristic of the older buildings of the temple itself. Though lack of mortar makes the general appearance of the buildings somewhat more prosaic than those of Kyōto^d or Nara,^e nevertheless, the copper roofs of the main gate and the Nitenmon, and the main hall are works of fine craftsmanship.

The morning for my trip on to Tokyo came. I was to board

a. 日達上人 b. *otsutome* お勤め c. *tenka taihei* 天下太平 d. 京都 e. 奈良

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the bus at 8:50. According to the train schedule, I should arrive in Tokyo at about 12:30 noon. My host and I went together to purchase a few books which I hadn't seen before. The wife was dressed in her best kimono—evidently she was going somewhere. I gathered, through overhearing the conversation, that she was going on a mission of conversion.

We boarded the same bus. It was difficult to talk for our bus took the bumpy, narrow short-cut to the Fujinomiya village, but I finally managed to ask her a leading question. I had to know the reason behind all this fervor for the faith. My question was, "Have you no children?" Then she told me about her daughter, who was a victim of spinal meningitis. Then everything was clear to me. This was the girl I had seen one day, squatting in a corner of the bathing room, brushing her hair without a mirror. She had looked at me out of the corner of her eye like a frightened wild animal. I had taken her for an idiot, but hadn't yet established her relation to the keeper of the inn. This also explained the queer, animal-like sounds from the altar room when the mother was praying. Had this girl been trying to pray too? Was she made to pray too? This was the burden that my host and his wife were learning to bear through the strength of their faith. Had they found the answer? Did they wait daily upon the miracle?

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THE ORIGIN OF THE SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN (1859—1918)

By Fujio Ikado

(Continued from the March Issue)

Chapter III

THE EMERGENCE OF THE WHITE-COLLAR CLASS (1891—1905)

The Rise of Nationalism

Dr. Otis Cary, the well-known missionary-historian, wrote in regard to the period now under review that

Japan is a country of sudden changes. The bright prospects that gave rise to the hope that the country would be speedily evangelized were soon clouded over. Missionaries are usually optimists, and it seemed to most of them that the storm would quickly pass and the sun would then shine out as brightly as before.....yet a full decade must pass ere there would be any very marked improvements..... The reasons for retardation in the advance of Christianity were numerous. Among them much prominence must be given to a great reaction against the acceptance of Western civilization.*

Thus, it can be seen that the missionaries recognized that the nationalistic spirit had begun to affect many Japanese, including even some Christians. Moreover, they had diagnosed this cor-

* Cary, Otis. *A History of Christianity in Japan*, 2 vols. (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1909) Vol. II, p. 212.

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rectly as due to the rejection of Western civilization : a change in attitude which came about mainly because of a succession of unsuccessful attempts to obtain a satisfactory revision of the unequal treaties.

This change of attitude was not unexpected. Throughout the Meiji era two aspects of Japanese nationalism had stood over against each other, and their conflicts and compromises decided the political course of each period. On the one hand, nationalism was the result of pride in the old culture and a growing urge to show the West the strength of "New Japan." On the other hand, it was deeply rooted both in a feeling of admiration for and an inferiority complex in respect to the West. The failure to secure a revision of the treaties annoyed the common people, who had overestimated the significance of the stand the government, in its effort to stimulate national pride, had taken toward the West in order to maintain the majesty of the Emperor.

Government officials themselves were fully aware of the impossibility of a quick revision of the treaties ; but the "Rich Country, Strong Army" policy had been so successful in developing nationalistic activity that the resulting national pride was deeply wounded by this political failure. A wounded pride transformed a nation-wide inferiority complex into a hatred of most things foreign. Violence and riots against the West in younger nations usually stem from such an inferiority complex disguised as national pride in the indigenous culture. In the latter half of the Meiji era, because of the failure in foreign affairs, the national pride of this young nation changed into disappointment in its national power and prestige.

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Dr. Holtom considered this change as a young nation's effort to save its pride by a quick adjustment to the new environment. Describing this tension from the vantage point of the post-World War II years, he wrote :

On the one side have been arrayed the forces of insularity, fear, conservatism, anteforeignism, ethnocentrism, and nationalism ; on the other those of cordiality toward foreign culture, liberalism, incipient democracy and universalism. At one time, one set of forces has been in the ascendant ; at another time, the other ; but more often history has been made by a mingling of the two in which liberalism has appeared in one direction and simultaneously, conservatism and reaction in another.*

Japanese nationalism consisted of a dream of unifying its national life through modernization and disappointment in the face of stark reality. It was this latter that resulted in an inferiority complex in respect to the West and at the same time caused the country to push modernization even more desperately.

Naturally, the government was wise enough to make use of this national feeling to improve its own situation. Here was an opportunity to overcome much internal divisiveness by using the feeling against the West as a tool to unify the national ideology and build a solid foundation for the emperor system. Thus, in promulgating the paternalistic constitution in 1889 the natural rights of man were repudiated. It was said that the Emperor graciously bestowed the franchise on the nobility and commoners but that it was not at all their right as individuals. Under this constitution freedom of thought and belief was granted on the condition that it was " not prejudicial

* Holtom, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

to peace and order and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects."* In other words, the Constitution was implemented to re-establish the family ethics which had been weakened in the period of Westernization.

Government Education System Strengthened

This intent to strengthen ideological unity was nowhere clearer than in the promulgation of the Rescript on Education (1890) by which the government reminded the people that Japan was the only family-nation, and that the only means of elevating the nation's international position was for people to work for the Emperor in perfect unity. This basic principle of family ethics was clearly operative in all public educational and training institutions, but to complete the modernization program and attain spiritual unity the government recognized that it was necessary not only to strengthen the public education system but also to outstrip the number of private schools, including Christian institutions, where Western liberalism, which the government did not want spread further, was still powerful.

The attempt by the state to strengthen the government system of education was not new. It was started in the 1880's, when large grants were made for the establishment of higher schools, and the motive was much the same. For example, before his tragic death in 1889 Viscount Aino Mori, the Minister of Education, was widely known as a progressive and pro-Western leader; but even he issued instructions to the students of normal schools which called for very conservative and even reactionary virtues. Here is one example. "The first and most important

* The Meiji Constitution (1889) Article 28.

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thing for students of normal schools is perfect obedience to authority, the second is perfect friendship, and the third is developing your personality.....”* The ultimate purpose of the “Rich Country, Strong Army” policy was not the development of democracy but a modern family-nation. Therefore, obedience was the most important of all virtues.

To accomplish its ultimate purpose, the first thing the government did was to enlarge the Imperial University of Tokyo where students learned “such arts and sciences as are required for the purposes of the State,”† to and grant to its graduates a privileged status in securing government positions. At the same time, it decided that the president should be selected from among the professors of the Law Department who were accustomed to dealing with official orders and policy. Thus, it made the university merely a training school for the higher civil service and for public schools.

Furthermore, it set up a state examination system for civil service and made it a rule to choose the examination committees from among professors of the Imperial University and government officials. Under this system, in order to attain a high position in the new society, a person had either to be a graduate of the Imperial University or to be able to pass a government examination.

Apparently it was recognized that the time had come to give up the simple optimistic nationalism of the early period, when it was thought that a quick but superficial imitation of Western culture might enable Japan to secure a revision of the unequal

* Aizawa, *op. cit.*, pp. 159—60.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 174—75. Ransome, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

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treaties, and instead to devise realistic plans to induce the West to recognize the existence of a modernized Japan and number it among the powers of the world. The law-scholar-rules-Japan-policy symbolized the government's recognition of the fact that the unification of ideology and modernization could be completed only through the establishment of a huge bureaucracy by which the government could easily control public opinion.

The second thing the government did was to attempt to bridge the gulf between the university and elementary education by establishing a number of institutions such as high schools,

Table II

INCREASE IN NUMBER OF PUBLIC MIDDLE SCHOOLS AND THEIR ENROLLMENT*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Boys' Schools</i>		<i>Girls' Schools</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Enrollment</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Enrollment</i>
1894	81	22,331	14	2,341
1895	95	30,672	15	2,897
1896	120	40,576	19	4,152
1897	155	52,442	26	6,799
1898	168	61,382	34	8,590
1899	188	68,885	37	8,857
1900	217	77,994	52	11,984
1901	241	88,051	70	17,540
1902	257	94,696	80	21,523
1903	268	97,661	91	25,719
1904	266	100,852	95	28,523
1905	269	104,556	100	31,917
1906	279	108,057	111	35,876
1907	285	110,776	132	41,273
1908	294	114,395	158	46,329
1909	303	127,434	177	51,440
1910	309	121,652	192	55,882
1911	312	124,584	199	59,619

* Aizawa, *op. cit.*, pp. 219—21.

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technological schools, and middle schools. This plan had two aspects, aggressive and defensive. On the one hand, these schools would supply new technicians for industry and white-collar workers for the new bureaucracy. On the other hand, they would be able to reduce the position of mission and other private schools to insignificance whenever the latter were not fully obedient to the basic policies of the government.

The success of the government in attaining this objective is evident in the fact that between 1894 and 1911 the number of middle schools (for boys) increased from 81 to 312 and schools for girls from 14 to 199. Middle school enrollment increased from 22,331 to 124,584 and girl school enrollment from 2,341 to 59,619.

Christian and State Education Conflict

Nationalism and bureaucracy, which were sustained by the family-nation ethics, ran completely counter to Christian ethics, which emphasized individual freedom of thought and firm faith. As time passed the conflict between these two opposing concepts became more intense and coexistence became more and more difficult. The clash was particularly evident in regard to their respective principles of education, for which each sought support through reliance on its own system. This rivalry created a very serious situation for the church. This was the period of the "Conflict of Religion and Education" and "Religious Education and State Education."* In the early period (1872—1890) mission schools were the major source of future church

* Inoue, Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎, *Shūkyō to Kyōiku no Shōtotsu* 宗教と教育の衝突 (*The Conflict of Religion and Education*), Tokyo: Keigyo Sha, 1893.

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members. Some seven- to eight-tenths of the converts at the time had been under their influence.

Apparently the government decided to isolate mission schools, drive them out of society, and cut off the chief source of church membership.* It was in this period that the government took Germany as its model in completing its educational system. In its final form this consisted of six years of elementary school, five of middle school, two or three of high school (a sort of preparatory school for the university), and a three-year university course with three- or four-year professional schools at the high school level, that is, normal schools and technical schools for those who did not go on to university.

Mission schools, such as Meiji Gakuin and Aoyama Gakuin, for example, had their own distinctive system. This consisted of a two-year preparatory course and a four-year common education course (*futsū gakubu*^a) at the middle school level. (The preparatory course was established in the period before the government elementary school system was completed, and the intellectual level of the entering students differed extremely according to their social background.)

From the beginning of the 1890's mission schools became worried because, judging from the intellectual level of the students, the common education course could be classified neither as a middle school nor as a high school. They were also troubled because there was no direct relationship with the government schools. Thus, in spite of their good reputation, mission schools were classified as "Miscellaneous Schools" (*Kakushu Gakkō*^b)

* Faust, *op. cit.*, pp. 35—36.

a. 普通学部 b. 各種学校

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the students of which had none of the privileges of government school students, such as postponement and reduction of military conscription service, admission of promising students into high government schools without examination, and priority in getting a position in the civil service.* Consequently, in order to enter the university, students were obliged to quit mission schools and re-enter government schools at a lower level.

Dr. Albertus Pieters described the situation as follow :

During the decade 1890 to 1900, the mission schools suffered first a marked decline, and then a considerable recovery. The decline was due to the great anti-foreign and anti-Christian reaction to the growing improvement of the government schools, and to the difference in policy that developed between them and the mission schools. The managers of mission schools were aiming to produce thinkers and students, and with that object in view, were laying great emphasis on the study of English language, so that a graduate from their courses might be able to read the literature of the world with interest and understanding. The government schools, on the contrary, having a practical aim, judged it better to teach the students a little of almost every branch It gradually became clear that the students in government schools had overwhelmingly the advantage from a practical standpoint. They were exempt from military conscription, which took away many mission school students in the midst of their studies. They were more readily employed in the civil service Naturally, when even the graduates of government schools were not all able to find accommodations, there was no chance for others.....†

Under these circumstances the number of mission school students, both girls and boys, decreased rapidly. Taking Meiji Gakuin and Ferris Seminary as two examples, according to the annual reports of Meiji Gakuin in the early 1880's, the common

* Washiyama, *op. cit.*, pp. 273—274.

† Pieters, *op. cit.*, pp. 139—40.

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school course averaged from one hundred sixty to two hundred students, but in the autumn of 1864,—although the students were very proud of the enlarged buildings, which were far better than those of the government middle schools, and a fifth grade had been added to conform to the government school pattern—only 116 students enrolled and even these did not all remain. In fact, 82 students withdrew, mainly in order to transfer to government schools, so that only 28 students finished the academic year.* In Ferris Seminary, during the same period the decrease was so serious that the school was compelled to close some of its advance courses. Although there were 185 students enrolled in 1888, there were only 105 in 1893, 67 in 1895, and 38 in 1896.†

Table III

MEIJI GAKUIN ENROLLMENT‡

<i>Grade</i>	<i>September 1894</i>	<i>April 1895</i>	<i>June 1895</i>
1	13	7	9
2	15	13	5
3	27	10	5
4	23	8	5
5	38	4	4
Total	116	42	28

Thus, the educational work of the church was very seriously affected by the aggressive expansion of the government school system. In 1896 there were twenty mission schools for boys at the common school course level with 1,520 enrolled, and

* The Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America. *Annual Reports*. 1886, p. 70; 1887, p. 70; 1888, p. 76.

† Yamamoto, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

‡ Washiyama, *op. cit.*, pp. 278—80.

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forty-seven schools for girls with 2,527 enrolled,* while in the same year 120 government middle schools had 40,576 students and 19 girls' schools had 4,152 girls. It can easily be seen from this how much mission schools suffered financially from the loss of students.

Other Causes for Decrease

Missionaries generally tended to attribute the decrease of students and church members to the nationalistic reaction and the rapid expansion of the government educational system ; but some causes of the decline in Christian work are to be found in the church itself. These stemmed from the missionaries' anachronistic thinking that Japan was still a young nation to be taken care of by the "chosen people" of advanced countries and that Japan was still a feudalistic country of the samurai and sword. At this time, however, Japan was really well into the first period of its industrial revolution and had almost completed its universal educational system. Therefore, the government no longer had to depend upon the limited samurai and old intellectual class to supply the intellectual leaders for her new enterprises ; and students no longer had to go to the big cities for a middle school level education.

Unfortunately, a majority of the leading mission schools did not recognize this new situation. They still retained the boarding school system which in the 1880's had been the best means of attracting promising students, particularly the samurai from the country districts. Moreover, the missionaries simply did not

* H. Ritter, *A History of Protestant Missions in Japan*, trans. by Albrecht G. E., (Tokyo: The Methodist Publishing House, 1898), p. 358.

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recognize that Japan had already made surprising progress, which could not be accounted for by current estimates of Japanese ability and which soon would make Japan one of the great powers of the world. This is not to say that the missionaries and Japanese Christian leaders were too passive or too inept to adapt to the new conditions. Rather they appear to have been bewildered by their underestimation of Japanese ability.

The Industrial Revolution

Japan was changing, both politically and economically, the most important change being the concentration of the population into urban districts and the rapid expansion of industry. The number of commercial organizations was increasing sharply (Table IV), as was the amount of invested capital (Table V). To meet this situation the government was forced to set up a network of day schools at the high school level. Only thus could it supply leadership for the huge developing industry and create a new backbone for this society which, unlike the samurai class, had no direct relation with Old Japan.

Table IV

INCREASE IN NUMBER OF COMPANIES, 1884—1903*

	1884	1889	1893	1894	1899	1903
Agricultural	61	430	171	118	176	249
Industrial	379	2,259	2,919	778	2,253	2,441
Transportation	204	299	195	210	583	702
Commercial	654	1,079	848	2,096	2,676	3,580
Banks	1,097	1,049	703	865	1,943	3,275

* Eitarō Noro 野呂栄太郎 *Nihon Shihon-shugi Hattatsu Shi* 日本資本主義発達史 (*A History of Japanese Capitalism*), Tokyo: Iwanami, 1954), pp. 87—88.

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Table V

INCREASE IN CAPITAL OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED COMPANIES (THE PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE FROM 1884 TO 1893, AND 1894 TO 1903)*

	1884	1889	1893	1894	1899	1903
Agricultural	100	657	205	100	194	268
Industrial	100	1,390	1,550	100	231	382
Transportation	100	1,013	1,310	100	240	316
Commercial	100	394	430	100	170	299
Banks	100	241	265	100	267	347

Before the government was required to take the initiative, the missionaries should have established a new system to attract this newly developing class. They at least could have united their schools into a few institutions of greater size and thus have avoided financial and political difficulties, or they could have built up a system which, although it might have been quite different from the government system, nevertheless would have been of such quality that the government could not have ignored it. Furthermore, in order that their system might be accepted by the new Japanese society and be firmly established therein, the subjects of lectures should have been somewhat directly related to the history of this society. Instead, according to *Rikugō Zasshi* ("Talk of the Nation Magazine") of 1890, fourteen of the twenty-nine mission schools at middle school and high school level had no courses in Japanese history! The general policy of emphasizing foreign languages, mainly English,

* *Ibid.*, pp. 88—89. In 1894 the commercial code was revised, so we cannot compare the statistics of the period 1884—1889 with that of the period, 1894—1903.

resulted after 1890 in a sort of isolation from society.*

Retarded Growth—a Period of Testing

As for the church, this was a period of disappointment. Dr. J. H. DeForest, writing in the *New York Independent* (March 8, 1894) said,[†]

It has been a hard, discouraging year (1893). There are those who would not say so; but they can not alter the fact that the churches are poorly attended, many a pastor or evangelist having hardly fifty for an audience. There are baptisms every month, perhaps a hundred and fifty on the average among all the Protestant churches....."

But the churches generally were not growing steadily stronger. Partly through fear of the nationalistic policy of the government, and partly because of their being young men seeking jobs and who could not stay long in one place, many members, particularly those baptised after 1890, were leaving the church.

It may not be appropriate to call this a period of general decrease in church membership, but it was certainly a period of extremely slow increase. This is clearly illustrated by the experience of the Church of Christ in Japan (a union of churches of the Presbyterian and Reformed tradition), which consistently maintained a membership of more than ten thousand during the period of testing, but made no gain. Moreover, the same thing was generally true of most Christian denominations during the last decade of the nineteenth century.

* Hiratsuka Masunori 平塚益徳, *Nippon Kirisutokyō-shugi Kyōiku Bunka Shi*, 日本キリスト教主義教育文化史 (*A History of Christian Schools in Japan.*), (Tokyo: Nichidoku Shoin 日独書院, 1941), pp 128—29.

† Quoted by Cary, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

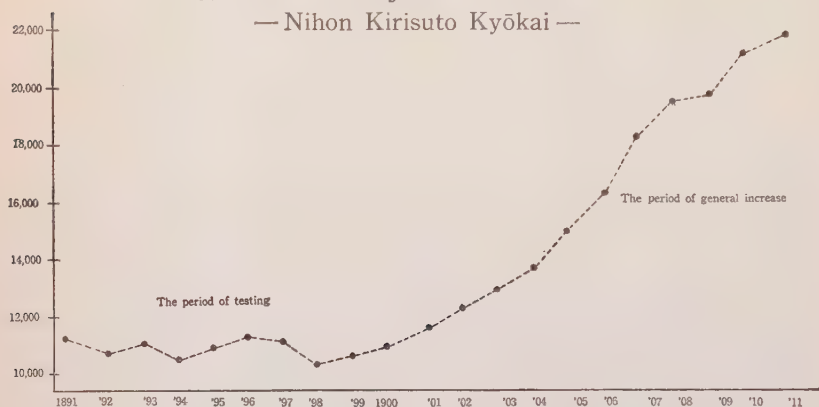
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In some cases, however, there was actually a slight decrease. According to a study made by Henry Loomis, the total number of Christian communicants and baptised children of all Protestant denomination was 38,710 in 1895 and 38,361 in 1896.*

Table VI

MEMBERSHIP OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IN JAPAN 1891—1911.†

— Nihon Kirisuto Kyōkai —



However, in order to make clear the position of the Protestant churches in this period of testing, let us compare the rapid rate of increase in memberships during the 1870's, and 1880's, and the situation during the 1890's. Between 1872, when the first Protestant convert was baptized, and 1879, church memberships grew to 2,701 or an average of 390 a year. In the following decade it increased to 28,997, not including child baptisms, and in some years as many as five thousand adults joined the church. (See p. 67)

* Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

† Yamamoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 230—32.

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Then came the period of retarded growth, but the reason for this was not merely a decrease in the number of adult baptisms. There was also a sharp increase in the number of those dropped from the membership rolls because of non-attendance or improper conduct. This can be accounted for in part by the nationalistic reaction, in part by the shift in emphasis of the missions from the individual mission school student to a development of various student movements integrated into general student life, and in part to a change in the social charac-

Table VII

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF CHRISTIAN WORK FOR 1890 AND 1896

Item	1890	1896	Increase	Decrease
Missionaries	577	680	103	
Organized churches	297	378	81	
Baptized adult converts	4,431	2,513		1,918
Baptized children	468	1,068	600	
Non-attendance	153	1,394	1,241	
Improper behavior	33	1,208	1,175	
Total membership	32,380	38,361	5,981	
Boy's schools (boarding)	18	20	2	
Students in above	2,676	1,520		1,156
Girl's schools (boarding)	43	47	4	
Students in above	3,083	2,527		556
Day schools	56	105	49	
Students in above	3,426	6,856	3,430	
Sunday schools	514	837	323	
Students in above	24,115	30,624	6,509	
Theological schools	21	17		4
Students in above	350	223		127
Japanese ministers	129	281	152	
Contribution of members	¥69,324	¥60,504		¥8,820

ter of Japanese Protestants.

Among these three factors, the nationalistic reaction may be said to have been the most important cause for the retardation in growth, but throughout the entire Meiji period, and not particularly in the 1890's, both the government's dislike of Christianity and the opposition of the native religions to Christianity was very clear. In some places, even Buddhist and Shinto religious leaders allied themselves with the enemies of the Christians. Therefore, it was not governmental and religious hostility alone, but other causes also that fostered the negative aspect of Christian character in Meiji Japan.

Sunday Schools Remain Popular

In reviewing the situation during the 1890's some surprising elements may be noted. For example, although the church itself experienced retarded growth, the Sunday schools and day schools (mainly elementary schools, kindergartens, and other lower level schools) experienced a remarkable increase. Moreover, the rapid increase in infant baptisms was in marked contrast to the decrease in adult baptisms. Before the 1880's attendance at Christian Sunday schools meant the isolation of children from their playmates and the breaking of Japanese social customs. Therefore, because the parents were afraid to cause any trouble for their children, infant baptism was not popular, even in Christian groups.

Why, then, did infant baptisms and Sunday school attendance increase? One of the main reasons was that parents began to recognize that these schools provided moral training which the national religions had forgotten or given up since

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the social ideals of Old Japan had changed at the beginning of the Restoration. Another was that, because the government did not yet recognize the importance of child education, these institutions offered a convenient form of child training for the newly developing white collar class. And it was only in this class and in the new spontaneous student movement that the church succeeded in taking the initiative.

Table VIII

INCREASE IN THE NUMBER AND ENROLLMENT OF SUNDAY SCHOOLS*

Year	Number	Enrollment
1881	25	838
1888	272	12,559
1890	514	24,115
1896	837	30,624
1908	1,006	84,160

The new intellectual class, which had been imbued with an admiration for Western culture and had been brought up in the Western style of education, had already come to a firm belief that, in an age in which hereditary status no longer meant much, education provided the only chance for children to climb the social ladder. This was no longer the period of the Restoration. After 1900 the pace of social change became faster, and the demand for Sunday schools, kindergartens and other lower level schools exceeded the supply of these institutions. *The Christian Movement in Japan* for 1908, for example,

* Ikado, Fujio 井門富二夫, "Waga Kuni Purotesutanto ni okeru Shin-to Kozō no Hensen" 我が国プロテスタントにおける信徒構造の変遷 (*Change in the Social Structure of Japanese Protestantism*), Journal of Religious Studies (Tokyo University), No. 139 (July, 1954), p. 20.

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reported that the churches and missionaries could not possibly take in all the children who applied for entrance, *and that they had to keep a waiting list.**

In the comparatively early period of the development of these schools, a missionary in a local district reported that

the ratio of the children of Christian families to other children in the Sunday school of my church is quite small, that is, only one to ten or twelve. In the Sunday schools attached to other out-stations and native Christian groups, the children with a Christian background were as rare as a blue diamond. Every school has been crowded, and therefore we do not need to advertise schools. Sometimes students voluntarily bring friends to school, but in most cases, their parents force them to join..... In the beginning we opened these schools at nine, but as children used to come earlier and to wait before school, we recently decided to change the time from nine to eight forty-five.†

Shift in Type of Membership

Before the 1890's the majority of Protestant members were young adults who had been converted in mission schools while they were learning foreign languages. Their intellectual desire brought them under the influence of missionary pioneers who, fortunately for the Japanese, were mainly men of talent, patience, and self-control, rather than persons of emotional enthusiasm. Under the splendid leadership of these missionaries, young men, particularly the samurai, were trained to take a lively interest in the discussion of moral and intellectual matters. Such persons were keen to attend these discussions, since they had an instinctive urge to seek a new ideal for the new social order,

* Faust, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

† Kurihara, Motoshi. 栗原 基 *Buzeru Sensei Den*, フゼル先生伝 (*A Biography of Miss A. S. Buzzell*), (Sendai: 仙台, n.d.) pp. 263—65.

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and they were able to recognize both the meaning of their needs and the nature of what they were seeking.

However, during and after the 1890's the church began to seek new members from among the youth who were being educated under the newly established educational system, the primary characteristic of which was mass production. On account of its stress on family ethics, this system was an effective governmental tool for the destruction of that individuality and initiative which should have been the essential backbone of the Christian movement at the time. Christian kindergartens and Sunday schools provided the only antidote to this non-religious and anti-individualist government education, because the Christian schools were thought to be the only ones that could carry out Froebel's ideas.* But alone they could accomplish little.

Thus, the membership of the church shifted to the newly developing white-collar class which had no reason to complain of the government's bureaucratic control over individuals, as did the samurai at the beginning of the era. This new class, which was destined to be the bureaucratic core of Imperial Japan, having been nurtured with school texts censored by the government, consisted of people of a type far different from the independent samurai Christians of the earlier period.

In the 1890's and 1900's the future members of the church were in government schools where an extremely science-centered Western learning was being taught; and while they were receiving this education, the samurai class, the old supporters of the church, was being absorbed into the upper or lower strata

* Faust, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

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of the new society. Consequently, in this intermediate period the church did not have any definite source for new membership such as the samurai class in the beginning or the urban white-collar class after 1910.

In spite of the government's anti-Christian sentiment at this period, however the parents whose children had attained school age and the young students in government higher schools could not help having some respect for this foreign religion, which had been regarded as the essence of Western culture. Their superficial Japanism and national pride were only masks to hide their genuine admiration for the West. Therefore, under the cloak of Western learning, they still sought a chance to approach foreigners, and this was the reason why the Christian day schools, in contrast to the old boarding schools, suddenly began to flourish again and why various student movements, such as the YMCA, Christian Student Association, and Christian summer schools, became popular.

But, while this was for the church very definitely a period of retarded growth, the *Rikugō Zasshi*, a Christian magazine, could proclaim in the summer of 1889 :

Come to our churches and look at our sincere audiences. The absolute majority of our present members are, to your surprise, young men and young ladies. Almost all people recently baptized are young people..... The total membership of the first summer school opened on the Dōshisha campus counted more than five hundred, two hundred of whom gathered from remote local districts. All major schools sent their representatives to the conference. These students represented such famous schools as the Imperial university, the state higher schools, the higher commercial schools, and other state schools, and private schools including mission schools. These young men are becoming the major power among the church members. and the future of Japan and the church depends on these young men.*

* Sanami, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 99,

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Moreover, this tendency continued throughout the entire period of testing, when the church and mission schools were suffering bitterly from the anti-Christian sentiment that spread over Japan.

Judging from such reports dealing with the change in the social character of Christian adherents, we can easily infer from the above that, at a time when society was beginning to be reorganized along modern capitalistic lines, the most urgent mission problem was how to devise new methods to attract and hold future church members educated in a mass production system. Basically this was the problem of developing leadership.

A New Situation

Optimistic missionaries, who were waiting for the government to change its educational and religious policies again, simply did not understand what lay behind the government's apparently highly emotional effort to suppress private schools and to construct a public school system despite a sadly unbalanced budget. Certain it was that mission schools were then in a critical state, because modern subjects were taught in the government schools where Christianity had no place, and the missionaries found it very difficult to get students who would become the core of the church's future membership. Consequently, in spite of their spending considerable amounts of money on the schools in the hope of developing future native leaders, many mission schools were in fact either nearly empty, or "Christianity had been so wrapped up in other subjects as



to convert them into secular schools to all intents and purposes.”*

The missionaries did not particularly want to follow the government schools but, as the industrial revolution developed, they began to understand that there was something wrong in their education policy so some attempts were made to adjust to this new situation. The first step was to appoint Japanese principals. The second was to bring the schools into conformity with the government system, because unless this was done it would be impossible to attract students who wanted to climb the social ladder.† Protestants in general and missionaries in particular were really a little tired of struggling with the government, and they decided to pretend to surrender. Although “recognized schools” (*shitei gakkō*) had to conform strictly to all the government requirements as to discipline, all mission schools petitioned the government to grant their licenses as middle schools and by the end of the 1890’s they had received this recognition.

The government, however, recognized education as a most important missionary method and sought to obstruct it. It knew what the churches really wanted and was watching to see how they would adjust to the new conditions. It did not have to wait long. The test came in 1899 when the Ministry of Education issued the famous Order No. 12,‡ which pro-

a. 指定学校

* Ransome, *op. cit.*, pp. 105—106.

† Tucker, H. G., *The History of the Episcopal Church in Japan*. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1938), pp. 146—47.

‡ Holtom, D. C., *The National Faith of Japan* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1938) p. 47 footnote: “Order Number Twelve of the Department of Education, Aug. 3, 1899 (Meiji 8. 3. 32), translated from *Genkō Tokyo Fu Gakurei Ruisan, Ippan Hō no Bu* 現行東京府学会類纂一般法の部 (“*Collected Contemporary School Regulations of Tokyo Urban Prefecture, Section on General Matters*”), p. 33.” →

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hibited all religious practices and instruction in the "recognized schools." This was a very serious blow. The schools were confronted with a dilemma. If they did not teach religion, the reason for their existence was gone. If they taught religion, they would lose their students because of the lack of special privileges. Some mission schools tried to compromise for the sake of retaining their license, Others bitterly resisted the order and finally gave up their licenses. A few closed down. How this struggle developed need not further detain us. The important thing is that this order exposed the depth of the government's antagonism towards Christian education. But this was the last of a series of anti-Christian actions which the Meiji clan government undertook in order to suppress the samurai's resistance and to keep the young men away from Christian influence.

Chapter IV

THE EMERGENCE OF THE "NOMINAL CHRISTIAN "

(1906—1918)

Missionary Leadership Changes

The opening of the twentieth century was marked by a number of noticeable changes. Before the 1890's members of

"The separation of general education from religion is very necessary to educational administration. Accordingly, in all schools established by the government and in all public schools (privately) founded and, also, in all schools wherein the curriculum is fixed by law, religious instruction and the holding of religious services are prohibited even outside the regular curriculum."

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the middle class usually engaged in teaching, civil service, religious work, or business. They were self-employed entrepreneurs or salaried professionals, men and women of individual character who had a personal interest in their work or profession. As a result of the industrial revolution, however, the new middle class, the white-collar class, grew steadily larger. This was composed of educated urban residents, wage earners, and office workers, newly graduated from the expanding government schools, who were inclined to admire everything Western. And it was they who became potential candidates for church membership to replace the samurai class which began to disappear in the 1880's. If the government did not act against the church again, as it had done in issuing Order Number 12, it appeared that the church might once again grow, but it would continue to have a definitely middle class constituency.*

This period was marked by a change in missionary leadership. The pioneer missionary leaders had almost all died or retired, and with their replacement the emphasis changed. The newly arrived missionary recognized that the age of private education in which any unique teaching method could be employed by each and every missionary had passed, and that the period of mass education under Japanese leadership had arrived.

* Sen Katayama, 版山潜, *Jijoden* 自叙伝 (*An Autobiography*), (Tokyo: Iwanami 岩波書店, 1954), p. 218: "Christianity had already become the tool of the rich. Even some of its leaders like Masahisa Uemura said to me, 'we are just as happy if laboring people do not come to our church.' But many clerks and low-income salaried men attended Uemura's church. These people themselves were (white collar) laborers of a sort, but this is how they felt about other laborers."

Government Policy Changes

Moreover, in the early years of the new century the government began to change its religious policy. The general reasons for this were apparent. The treaties had been revised in 1899, and having gained both self-esteem and foreign recognition as an advanced modern state, the government felt that henceforth it could relax its pressure. Furthermore, the rapid development of the public school system, and the military victories produced a feeling of self-confidence. Just as Japanese nationalism had gained strength because of an inferiority complex towards Western culture, so Japan, having regained her self-confidence, could afford to be more tolerant.

As a result of the changed atmosphere in the first decade of the twentieth century the vitality of the church began to recover and both the missionaries and Japanese leaders became optimistic. They had good reason to be. In one decade, for example, the membership of the Church of Christ in Japan almost doubled. Moreover, in line with the changed attitude, the government eased the enforcement of Order No. 12 and restored the special privileges to all Christian schools. The order had worked great hardships not only on Christian schools but on Buddhist schools also ; and in the end, while continuing on the statute books, it became to all intents and purposes a dead letter.

What were the specific reasons for the government's giving up so easily on an order that was issued originally to halt the expansion of Christianity?

After the Russo-Japanese War the religious policy changed

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from suppression to toleration, and thereafter the government sometimes even attempted to make use of religious forces to combat the rising socialist movement. Apparently it was convinced that the political foundation of the empire was so firm that there was no need to fear interference by foreign countries. It was also certain that Christianity could no longer be a major influence over the intellectual class, as it had been in the Meiji era. The government system had overcome the Christian system in education, and Christianity was considered only as an accessory for students showing sentimental admiration towards Western culture. In the period of the white-collar-class church which now began, the most important problem that the church faced was that of the "nominal Christian."

The missionaries, however, believed that mission schools had survived the storm because their schools surpassed the government schools both in language instruction and in moral education. What they failed to recognize, and what the government saw, was that almost all students of this period were merely making use of the mission schools as steppingstones to higher education in government schools. Actually the Christian students were lost in the crowd. There was very little evidence of spiritual life in the schools. The students were not interested in the religious program so much as in the language instruction which gave them some advantage in passing the entrance examination for government schools. After Western education had become popular, few probably really wanted to be in mission schools, handicapped as they were by financial difficulty and religious education. They enrolled because they recognized the advantage of missionary-taught English language

instruction.

Mission Schools Conform

In order to survive, mission schools as a minority group felt that they had to conform to the government school system. Consequently, they had completely lost their unique color. They only served a society which demanded language instruction.

One discerning writer in considering this situation wrote :

Since about 1903, the Christian atmosphere of Meiji Gakuin has rapidly been weakened. In the past the school was a sacred place for young Christians, but now it is regarded only as a preparatory school for the state schools and the Christian discipline of the school has lost its meaning. I feel very sorry that many students so easily forget their *alma moter* as soon as they graduate.*

Another writer said :

I was a student of Ferris Seminary when Japan was changing from an old, feudalistic country to a modern, industrial empire (i.e., 1903—1906). In the period before our time, the students were educated through rigid religious discipline and also entirely enjoyed the quiet scholarly life, while in the Taisho era after us the school was widely known as the leading girl's middle school and the students enjoyed their secular privileges as students in a well-equipped school. The days when I was spending my youth in the school should be called a transition period. Christian faith which had been the backbone of religious education and which was also the vital source of Christian action against social evils, lost its power and transformed itself merely into a habitual rite. And during my school days YWCA activity also lost its religious function and became a kind of social club.†

Thus, having integrated their educational system with that of the government, the religious education of the mission school

* Washiyama, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

† Yamamoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 120—22.

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lost its original purpose of producing thinking converts, who would be devoted to evangelism and able to withstand the pressures of nationalism and scepticism. Christian leaders hence failed to find a new means of attaining a place of unique influence in the educational world.

Japanese leaders, therefore, quite naturally changed their emphasis from evangelization through mission schools to evangelism through young people's movements and through various Christian student conferences and activities which attracted the students of government schools. And because these movements were so deeply connected with the students' everyday life, even those students who lacked church-going habits were able to take part.

Actually church attendance was small in proportion to its membership. This was partly due to the fact that the membership was geographically scattered and partly to the lack of a church-going tradition, but it was also due in part to the fact that a majority of the membership consisted of government school students whose religious life was strictly limited by school regulations.

This change in basic evangelistic policy resulted mainly from the leaders' realistic judgement that mission schools could no longer be a major source of future membership. According to *The History of the YMCA of Keiō Gij'ku (University)*, this change of mission policy became very clear by the end of the first decade of the new century.

At that time the leaders of various student movements were all shouting for "the state-school-first policy." Their strategy was not necessarily bad. Their judgement was like this: first, the

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government forced private schools to reorganize their system in conformity with the state system as to curriculum and discipline, and they descended to a minority status in a hostile society, losing their uniqueness; secondly, they thought that the strict hierarchy of the state educational system was to some extent a weak point of the system, because, if the students of its lower schools were all converted, the university would soon be full of Christian students. . . . We do not necessarily blame the leaders for their attitude but we can not understand at all why they entirely ignore private schools, and can not be satisfied with their policy.*

Thus, Christianity was expanding among the students of state schools, and the churches located near such schools became crowded with students. Among the government school students many famous leaders of the Taishō and Shōwa period, such as Takeshi Fujii^a, Sakuzō Yoshino^b, Shōgo Yamaya,^c were enlisted, and judging from their intellectual leadership, sincerity and faith, they were more influential among young church members than the mission school graduates of the same period. However, government school students on the whole tended to consider Christianity merely as a part of Western culture and as a means of enjoying their student life. Some knowledge of Protestantism was becoming somewhat popular among the people and, as the white-collar class expanded, church membership increased, but very few of the graduates settled down in one church as permanent members.†

a. 藤井武 b. 吉野作造 c. 山谷省吾

* *Keiō-Gijuku Kirisutokyō Seinen Kai Sanjū Nen Shi* 慶応義塾キリスト教青年会三十年史, (*History of The Young Men's Christian Association of Keiō-Gijuku University*), (Tokyo: Keiō YMCA, 1932.), pp. 57—58.

† *Hongō Kyōkai Sōritsu Gojū Nen*, 本郷教会創立五十年, (*The Report of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Hongō Church*) (Tokyo: Hongō Church, 本郷教会 n.d.), p. 92.

Secular Student Interest

Students and young members tended to gather in certain churches whose ministers were famous as thinkers and church leaders. They were not necessarily going to accept the faith. They went to satisfy their intellectual curiosity. In criticism of this opportunism Dr. Faust wrote: "One more temporary hindrance is found in the peculiar trait of Japanese to follow leaders rather than principles." In their thinking these young men could not distinguish between religion and hero worship, which was encouraged by the state education. This was not faith, but rather intellectual sentimentalism stemming from that inferiority complex towards Western culture which had distinguished the past period.

This tendency was not confined to government schools. It also affected the students of leading mission schools. In connection with the Protestant semi-centennial in 1909 one speaker declared that most students used the educational and religious facilities to fulfill their secular interest, and that many of them never became permanent members of the church. Indeed, some were said to try to forget Christianity after their graduation, since it might hinder their worldly success.

Actually many Christian students clearly failed to distinguish between Christianity and Western learning. To quote one speaker :

Do students generally become Christians? Unfortunately we can not say that they all do. Graduates of Christian schools usually are indifferent toward the churches. Even those who become Christians as students do not identify themselves with it after they have graduated. This has led to the development of

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

the phrase "Student Christian"...... Because they have tired of Christianity in school, we can not approach them later

Therefore, Christian leaders could not be very optimistic simply because the political climate was apparently favorable to the mission schools and churches.

During the period between the Russo-Japanese War (1904—1905) and World War I (1914—1919), the improved utilization of agriculture and other natural resources, and the extensive development of financial, commercial, and manufacturing enterprises resulted in a very substantial increase in the national wealth and income of Japan. Therefore, the white-collar class in urban districts expanded, and this new middle class could afford to send their children to higher schools. Higher education became one of the qualifications for membership in the middle class. Consequently, enrollment in educational institutions greatly increased, and there was a rapid expansion of both the mission schools and the churches.

Unfortunately for the churches, however, the quantitative increase in membership resulted in a qualitative lowering of its faith. One reason for this appears to have been the change in the character of mission schools from boarding schools to day schools. This situation can be illustrated by the change at Ferris Seminary as described by one of its graduates.

Before my graduation (about 1910), 80 per cent of the total number of the students were boarding scholars. But after that time the number of day scholars began to increase, and at last

* *Kaikoku Gojū-shūnen Kinen Kōen Shū* 開国五十周年記念講演集 (*The Collected Addresses of the Conference for the Fiftieth Anniversary of Christian Missions in Japan*), (Tokyo: Japan Evangelical Union, *Kaikoku Kinen Taikai*, 開国記念大会, 1910), p. 65.

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day students assumed the leadership of all school activities, when they outnumbered boarding students. In comparison with boarding students who closed themselves into the school campus and put themselves under the strict regulations of the boarding house, day students were more sociable and flexible in adjusting to the changing environment.....When day students came to hold the majority, the school's color changed and the school became more and more secular.*

Thus, by about the end of World War I, boarding students—the factor which had long made mission schools different from secular schools—almost disappeared from mission schools, and Christian moral education and the group life in the dormitory were almost forgotten.

Moreover, as the feudalistic family ethics was naturally weakening in a modern industrial society, the government attempted to secure its survival by the development of nationalism. Thus, a government-created public opinion along the line of common national ethics took the place of the older family ethics.

This was the situation in which Christianity found itself in the beginning of the twentieth century and it was evident that ultimately it could not escape political coercion by an anti-Christian society. The social status of salaried people, which is what Christians mainly were, depended on their chance in the labor market, on their educational background, and on their obedience to their employers and to the political authority of the community. Consequently, the parents of Christian students and the majority of church members had to think of their insecure position in the community before they criticized social

* Yamamoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 118—19, 148

evils. And this is why—just at the time day students began to predominate over boarding students—Christian resistance to the nationalistic policy of the government was considerably weakened.

The Nominal Christian

Observing this change in the social structure of Protestantism and trying to understand what was going on in the church, Dr. Albertus Pieters concluded that, while Christianity had helped modern education create the people called the white-collar class, in the process Christian activities had been narrowed to the limits of the social character of the salaried people who formed the core of the modern Christian community. On the one hand, his study of the professions of about three thousand mission school graduates, showed that thirty-five percent were still studying in higher courses. On the other hand, we observe that the schools produced very few candidates for the ministry and Christian service. No doubt this was partly because of the small financial remuneration for Christian work, but it was mainly because of a lack of faith and proper Christian discipline in the Christian community.

Dr. Pieters summed up the situation as follows: "..... the results of Christian education are disappointing in the following particulars: in the fewness of graduates, considering the number and equipment of the schools and the length of the time they have been at work; in the failure to influence to a deep religious conviction such a large portion of the students; in the unsatisfactory character of so many who profess conversion, and in the fewness of candidates for the ministry."*

* Pieters, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

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Table IX

THE PERCENTAGE OF MISSION SCHOOL GRADUATES ENGAGED IN VARIOUS PROFESSIONS*

In the ministry or some other Christian work	3
Teachers	12
Civil Service	5
Businessmen, farmers, etc	28
Military service	1
Miscellaneous callings	2
Still at school in higher courses	35
Deceased	7
Unknown	7

The students of mission schools, considered as the elite in the Christian community had thus lost their qualification for being Christian leaders. Moreover, the situation among church members in general was very similar to that of the students, and it is this white-collar character of modern Christians that has created a problem for the church since the end of the Meiji era.

One of the characteristics of the white-collar class is its compromising attitude towards authority. The spirit of samurai heroism joined with Christian ethical insight and a passion for righteousness had long since disappeared from the church.

This compromising attitude of Christian leaders stemmed in part from the social position of Christians as an absolute minority fearful for its very existence. But it must be considered also in connection with a tendency to conform to the authorities. In identifying the church's policy with the religious policy of the government, the church to some extent succeeded in bor-

* *Ibid.* pp. 145—46.

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rowing prestige from the community authority and thus secured a feeling of stability. This was the reason why the church willingly joined the government sponsored Conference of Three Religions in 1912, which regarded religion as a tool to stabilize the social order. It was this attitude which caused Kanzō Uchimura to blame church leaders for their betrayal of the socialist friends of Christianity. At the time of the Conference, Christianity had about eighty thousand members. It had already grown to be a powerful political force, which neither government nor other religions could ignore. Why then did the church need to cooperate with the government in its promotion of nationalistic control over religious and secular liberal movements, rather than follow its earlier course of heroic resistance?

One answer is certainly that the white-collar members outnumbered the older members as came from the early Meiji generation. This white-collar intellectual majority tended toward obedience to authority. By compromising they attempted to defend their common interest from political coercion. Thus, this attribute of the class-group proved stronger than any force arising within the Christian community which might have led to a separate and independent course of action apart from the class as a whole. The white-collar Christians and the samurai were poles apart in their essential character.

The passive policy of the church in the pre-World War II period grew out of the very nature of the church membership and was not primarily due to the political repression of the government. The tragic situation of the church in that period really resulted from the fact that the samurai consciousness of

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being "chosen" and the early Christian zeal for the evangelization of Japan had been transformed into an "elite consciousness" of middle-class-educated bureaucrats and professionals. Such prestige had to be safeguarded. Because of their timid attitude toward the state, the church lost its intellectual and moral leadership in society and drifted with the main current of national life.

Thus, it is only by taking account of the social character of modern Protestants as a special group within the white-collar class as a whole, that the historical relationship between the Japanese government and Protestants can be adequately explained. The most important and difficult problem today for the church to solve is how to re-educate these nominal Christians along lines of true Christian discipleship.

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SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

No. 1

THE INCREASE OF STUDENTS IN MEIJI GAKUIN AND FERRIS SEMINARY*

Year	Meiji Gakuin	Ferris Seminary
1900	.....	69
1901	.....	96
1902	.....	105
1903	160	139
1904	137	165
1905	102	195
1906	252	237
1907	328	204
1908	342	230
1909	.....	232
1910	.....	232
1911	.....	223
1912	.....	206

No. 2

THE INCREASE OF NATIVE CHRISTIANS, 1872—1889

	Number of Churches	Native Christians	Including Children
1872 (March)	1	16	16
1876	16	1,004	.....
1878 (May)	44	1,617	.....
1879	64	2,701	2,965
1881	83	3,811	4,412
1882	93	4,367	4,987
1883	...	5,591	6,598
1884	120	7,791	8,508
1885	168	10,775	11,678
1886	193	13,269	14,815
1887	221	18,019	19,829
1888	249	23,564	26,403
1889	274	28,997	31,875

* Washiyama, *Fifty Years of Meiji Gakuin*, pp. 298—99; Yamamoto, *Sixty Years of Ferris Seminary*, pp. 110—11.

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No. 3

THE PROPORTION OF MEN AND WOMEN MEMBERS IN YOKOSUKA NIHON CHURCH, 1885—1902*

Year	Men	Women
1885	300	100
1886	114	100
1887	97	100
1888	131	100
1889	133	100
1890	140	100
1891	128	100
1892	130	100
1893	126	100
1894	120	100
1895	123	100
1896	124	100
1897	113	100
1898	96	100
1899	122	100
1900	121	100
1901	110	100
1902	126	100
Average	131	100

* C. Katakozawa, "The Construction of Protestants in the Meiji Era," in *Journal of History of Christianity*, No. 7 (October, 1956), pp. 49—50.

REVIEWS

A Seminary Survey

by Yorke Allen, Jr.

New York: Harper & Brothers 1960

640 pp. \$ 10.00.

A Seminary Survey by Yorke Allen, Jr., is a **very important work which deserves to be carefully studied by all who are concerned with theological education throughout the world.** However, considering the scope of this journal, it is necessary for the reviewer to limit his comments to the areas which concern Protestant Japan, that is, a part of Chapter VI.* (For the benefit of the reader who wishes to know something of the scope of the volume, the table of contents is given in full at the end of this review.)

In view of the great effort made by the author to gather information from so many different sources, it is unfortunate that the manuscripts for the respective areas were not submitted to those who

were in a position to check the accuracy of both the statements of fact and the comments. Obviously this was not done in the case of Japan. For example, at the bottom of page 146 we read: "In 1941 the Japanese Government required all the Protestant Churches in Japan to unite into one organization, the Kyodan Church, in order that their activities might be more easily supervised by the government during Word War II." It is certainly quite clear that this statement cannot be documented. The bitterest critics of The United Church of Christ in Japan have publicly admitted that no order to this effect is to be found in any of the records. Bishop Yoshimune Abe^a, then bishop of the Methodist Church of Japan and chairman of

* A review of the Catholic material will be published in a subsequent issue. Ed.

a. 阿部義宗

the National Christian Council, has repeatedly stated that no such order was ever issued. I was present during all the Council's negotiations and certainly knew of no such order.

It is true that the new Religious Organizations Law (1939) had been passed and that religious bodies could be recognized by meeting certain requirements, but there was never a requirement that all the Protestant churches unite in one church or that any Protestant churches unite. In interpreting the Law the officers of the Department of Education did say that they would not consider recognition for any body having less than 50 congregations and 5,000 members, and this caused the amalgamation of certain small denominations in order to get recognition. But such amalgamations were in process before the organization of The United Church itself; notably the combination of the two Baptist churches that had been related to the Southern and Northern Baptist missions from the United States, and of the

Evangelical, United Brethren, and Disciples churches with the Kumiai (Congregational) Church.

As the international tensions grew, there were suggestions from certain really unauthorized agents of the government, that the whole group of Protestant churches should unite. Moreover, there was serious concern for union in the apprehension of small groups of Japanese Christians about the growing anti-Christian feeling and the identification of Christianity with the West, the prospective enemies of Japan. However, there had been a movement for church union from the very beginning of the Protestant Christian movement in Japan, and it had been particularly active in the late thirties. To be sure, the total political situation unquestionably accelerated the movement for union, but the statement as it appears is definitely indefensible.

It is, of course, quite inaccurate to speak of the "Kyōdan Church." *Kyōdan*^a is simply the word for any religious denomination. There are many *kyōdan*. The United Church

a. 教団

of Christ in Japan (*Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan*^a) is largely responsible for the use of this term as applying solely to itself because at the end of the war it was the only Protestant *kyōdan*. This usage has continued, but Westerners should avoid use of the term in this manner. It being much the largest and the only substantial united church in Japan, the term, The United Church, is preferred.

A reference to the Episcopalians is likewise inaccurate. On page 147 it is stated that one-third of the Episcopalians "refused to join the Kyōdan and, in effect, went 'underground' instead." The fact is that in the beginning the entire Episcopal Church refused to enter the union and only about one-third of them ever did enter. That was during the war. At the end of World War II all of them withdrew. The statement that the churches that did not join went "underground" sounds rather strange. They were legally able to exist as local, unrelated religious associations (*kessha*^b in Japanese),

and they did so openly. If anything went underground, it was the denominational organization, but my understanding is that it was completely dissolved and ceased to exist. (I suppose that the best word to apply to these local associations would be "conventicles," the word used by the old dissenters in England.)

The further statement that "During the war the Kyōdan also included the Episcopalians, Lutherans, some Presbyterians, and the Holiness groups" (p. 147) is, of course, somewhat inconsistent with the statement quoted above, and the phrase "some Presbyterians" is quite misleading. Every Presbyterian church without exception went into The United Church and remained there until after the surrender. The same is true of the Holiness "groups", so-called, which were two large well-organized denominations that had resulted from a split in the original Holiness Church some years before the war. Dr. Allen then goes on to say, "Late in 1945 and 1946

a. 日本基督教団 b. 結社

these Protestants withdrew from it [The United Church] in order to establish their own separate denominational activities." Actually many of the Holiness churches still remain in The United Church and about three quarters of the Presbyterians. There were withdrawals of many former Holiness congregations, which now exist as at least three separate denominations; and of Presbyterians who exist in the form of two separate denominations and at least one independent local church.

In the paragraph at the bottom of page 147 it is stated "The Kyōdan requested the American Mission Boards contributing personnel and financial aid to its support to channel such assistance through one agency." This is quite the reverse of the actual facts. The proposal for a single agency to channel cooperation to the United Church came from America not Japan. It was agreed to readily enough by the United Church for purposes of convenience.

On page 148 and subsequently,

frequent mention is made of the theological faculty or the "Theological Department" of Aoyama Gakuin^a University. This is a misuse of terms. Aoyama Gakuin has within its Department of Literature a subdivision called The Division of Christianity (Kirisutokyō Gakka), and while it has a number of the characteristics of a theological seminary, it is not properly described by either of the terms used in this chapter.

It is stated on page 149 that "the Kyōdan is now supporting four other schools as well. However, the UTS is the official school of the Kyōdan and receives the largest single share of this church's support for its seminaries." As a matter of fact, while The United Church makes a direct financial grant only to Tokyo Union Theological Seminary, it does give certain recognition to the graduates of four other seminaries in the matter of examination for licensure and ordination. Since the appropriation for theological education of the Interboard Committee for

a. 青山学院

Christian Work in Japan is distributed among the five related seminaries on the basis of an agreed percentage by the Council of Cooperation in which The United Church participates, it might be said that The United Church "supports" the four seminaries as well as Tokyo Union Theological Seminary.

In another reference to Tokyo Union Theological Seminary (at the end of the 3rd paragraph on page 149) we read "UTS has a Rural Center for practical training in the ministry located some forty miles east of Tokyo." This is misleading. Some ten years ago Dr. Sam Franklin of the seminary faculty did take some seminary students to Tomisato^a in Chiba^b Prefecture for summer and other part-time work in the establishment of a church among repatriates from Manchuria, but Dr. Franklin's direct connection with this project ended some years ago, and so far as I know there is no connection with the seminary at present. The work at Tomisato has been as-

sisted by two women missionaries of the United Church of Canada and is quite independent of the seminary. There may be some confusion here with the rural seminary, maintained by The United Church, which is located at Tsurukawa some miles west of Tokyo, but it also has no connection with Tokyo Union Theological Seminary.

The quotation from Dr. Frances Smith, at the top of page 150, hailing the fact that in order to grant a university degree a seminary is required by law to provide the preliminary college training for its students, would be dissented from by practically every informed missionary in Japan. We would prefer to see our seminary students graduate from standard colleges and coming to the seminaries for specific and exclusive theological education. Dr. Smith seems to think that these seminaries conduct extensive college programs and select from their student bodies the ones who are permitted to go on into theological education; but this is completely incorrect. These pre-

a. 富里 b. 千葉

* For additional comment see note at end of this review, Ed.

paratory students are all going on into the seminary, and they are unquestionably getting an inferior variety of preparatory college work to what they would get in any one of the recognized Christian universities.

There are frequent references in this chapter to the Barthian emphasis at Union Seminary. Some of the professors are outstanding interpreters and introducers of Barth's theology to Japan. But this is not the whole picture. There are, and always have been, devoted students of Walter Horton, Emil Brunner, and far more of Calvin than of Barth. With the growing recognition of the significance of Barth in Western theological education, it is surprising to have this cited as a criticism.

In reference to Japan Biblical Seminary, we find the surprising statement on page 153 that "it has an evangelical background." That could certainly be said of all the other seminaries as well. I presume the implication is that it is more conservative theologically and

possibly of a revivalistic nature; but, if this is the case, it is quite mistaken. The theological position of the Biblical Seminary is not different in any notable degree from the standard seminaries and it is certainly not concerned with producing laymen who can serve in religious education as is stated in the next sentence. It is producing well trained men and women who take the regular examinations for licensure and ordination, and who through several years of experience have proved to be among our best ministers. It is embarrassing to admit that for pioneer and rural evangelism they seem to serve, on the whole, more effectively than the degree-bearing graduates of the so-called standard seminaries. The implication that academic standards at the Biblical Seminary are low, I think is unjustified. The faculty may not quite measure up to those of Tokyo Union Theological Seminary and Dōshisha^a, but they are men and women of competence and ability, and I know of students

a. 同志社

who have been flunked by them—a phenomenon I do not often encounter in the standard seminaries or other institutions of higher learning in this country.

In the middle of page 153 there is the following peculiar statement concerning Dōshisha: "Later the Presbyterian USA and the United Brethren joined in supporting it." The implication seems to be that the Presbyterian Church in the USA supported Dōshisha before the United Brethren did, whereas the fact is that the Presbyterian board has never supported Dōshisha except for a small pro-rated share of the general Interboard Committee grant for theological education (15% of the total grant). The United Brethren mission board has been a participating board in the support of Dōshisha since the beginning of the 20th century, and commonly has had a missionary on its faculty. (The Presbyterian board's participation through the Interboard Committee began with the committee's organization in 1948, and for the past six or seven years it has contributed a missionary to the faculty.)

The sentence on page 156 concerning "the need to improve the intellectual caliber of the men serving on seminary faculties in Japan" would seem to imply that the intellectual caliber of these men is inferior to that in the other seminaries in Asia and Africa under review. This seems to me an unjustifiable statement. There are men in India, no doubt, who measure up intellectually in training to those in the Japanese theological faculties, but in my judgement the implication that the intellectual caliber of our men is low is a gross insult. There are several faculty members with foreign Ph. Ds ; and there are others with Japanese doctorates which academically are regarded more highly in this country than the American equivalent.

The number of students in the seminaries has changed since this book was prepared so the latest statistics may be of interest. Current enrollments are: Dōshisha 104, Kwansei Gakuin 50, Tokyo Union Theological Seminary 180, the Biblical Seminary 150, and Kanto Gakuin 30. DARLEY DOWNS, Tokyo

*Additional Comment by
Dr. Sam Franklin
Tokyo Union Theological
Seminary*

The Tomisato^a Rural Center has always had, and continues to have, a vital relation to the Tokyo Union Theological Seminary. Frequent field trips through the years since its founding have been made to it by students in the seminars on Rural Evangelism which are regularly held at TUTS, and in a few cases students have spent their summers working at Tomisato or nearby Narita^b. During the years when Mrs. Franklin and I lived in Tomisato and taught at the Seminary (1952—1954) we were able to maintain this relationship in many ways. The chief link between the Center and the Seminary, however, has been the Rev. Ichirō Naitō^c, a graduate of the Seminary, under whose creative leadership as pastor of the Tomisato Church the whole project has developed. Mr. Naitō has given numerous lectures to classes at the Seminary through the years since the inception of the project, and beginning in the spring

of 1960 he assumed duties as special lecturer in Rural Evangelism. He spends at least one day each week at the Seminary, leading the seminar on Rural Evangelism and counseling students interested in rural work. In the spring of 1961 he organized a conference of the Seminary's graduates engaged in rural work, which was attended by some 35 ministers. Thus the results of the broad experimental program in public health, family counseling, education and other activities which are being carried on at Tomisato are made available to the Seminary students.

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^a. 富里 ^b. 成田 ^c. 内藤一郎

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MAPS

The maps on pages 283—289 indicate those localities in Africa, Asia and Latin America in which the theological schools and major seminaries of the Protestant, Roman Catholic and Eastern Churches, as listed in this Survey, are situated.

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MIDDLE EAST

SOUTHERN ASIA

SOUTHEAST ASIA AND OCEANIA

EAST ASIA

MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA

AND THE CARIBBEAN

SOUTH AMERICA

Faiths Men Live By

by John Clark Archer

Revised by Carl E. Puriton

New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958

pp. 553, Notes, Questions for Study and Discussion, Index.

"Faiths Men Live By" by the late Dr. John Clark Archer of Yale University, which was first published in 1934, was revised by Dr. Carl E. Puriton of Boston University and republished in 1958. Twenty-seven pages (Chapter VII) are devoted to Shinto and ten pages of a discussion of Buddhism (Chapter X) are devoted to "Buddhism in Japan." Since the discussion of Buddhism in Japan is confined almost entirely to a brief historical and doctrinal treatment of the subject, the section is, on the whole, very well done. It might be pointed out, however, that few modern scholars give any credence to the alleged enshrinement of a Buddhist image in Yamato^a in 522 A.D., and it is incorrect to say that Saichō^b was "ordained as Dengyō Daishi^c" in China. He was granted the posthumous title of Dengyō Daishi, that is "Transmit-

ting Teaching, Great Teacher," by the Emperor Seiwa^d in 866, forty-four years after his death.

The chapter on Shinto is disappointing. In spite of the fact that the attitude of the author is excellent and the discussion of the nature of Shinto is basically sound, the chapter is interspersed with so many errors that the value of the chapter is seriously reduced. Generally speaking too much attention is given to the Grand Shrine of Ise. Readers get a mistaken impression of Shinto as a whole with its thousands of shrines dotting the countryside which in practise have only a remote relationship with Ise. Presumably the revision was reviewed by competent scholars in the United States, but if so there is no evidence to substantiate this. The chapter should not merely be corrected but entirely re-written.

a. 大和 b. 最澄 c. 伝教大師 d. 清和

REVIEWS

As for the errors, we can only give a few by way of illustration. On page 146, for example, the household shrines are apparently confused with the portable sacred palanquin (*mikoshi^a*) and so the discussion simply does not make sense. Again, the discussion of State Shinto and Shrine Shinto (pp. 146—7) is confused. State Shinto was not disestablished, it was abolished. Shrine Shintō was disestablished. Then, according to a statement on page 148, the three Imperial Regalia are said to be enshrined at Ise, whereas actually only the mirror is enshrined there. To be sure there are highly treasured swords and jewels at Ise, but these are not enshrined there and they are not venerated in the sense that the mirror is. The sacred sword is at the Atsuta^b Shrine in Nagoya and the jewel or jewels

are at the palace in Tokyo.

Moreover, on page 148 we are told that, "a tall shaft in the form of a shattered cannon..... and a Krupp gun taken from the Russians" are still on display in the precinct, but these were removed after the war. Furthermore, the emphasis on the semi-annual Great Purification (p. 152) entirely misrepresents the facts. Actually few people today are aware that the rite is being observed at all. Finally, the *Manyōshū^c* is not and never was regarded as "sacred writing of Shinto." But this sort of notation becomes tedious. Is it too much to hope that textbook publishers, at least, will take greater care to be sure that their books have been carefully checked before putting them on the market?

(W.P.W.)

The World's Religions, Revised.

by Charles S. Braden

New York: Abingdon, 1956

pp. 256, Bibliography, Index, \$ 3.00

As indicated on the jacket, this is a "simple, concise account of the great religions by which men have lived and live today." Twelve

a. 神輿 b. 熱田 c. 万葉集

pages are devoted to a well-named chapter on "Religions of Japan" (Chapter XI), with Shinto and Buddhism sharing about equal space and with some final comments at the end dealing with Christianity and some general aspects of the religious situation. Altogether the material is handled very well for a book of this kind with its very serious limitations in space.

There are, however, a number of statements which the careful reader will want corrected. For example, (1) while the rites of making food offerings by the Emperor in connection with his enthronement are impressive and, perhaps, in one sense can be called "the most notable of the festivals" (p. 154) of Shinto; the rite is strictly confined to the shrines within the palace grounds and do not concern the people as a whole. (2) It is inaccurate to say that any cases of *hara kiri* were reported in connection with the demise of Emperor Taishō^a in 1925 (not 1927) (p. 156). The only instance of voluntarily following the Emperor in death in modern times

is that of General and Mrs. Nogi^b, at the time of the funeral of Emperor Meiji, and this was a very special case. (3) It was only at the insistence of the Emperor that the general refrained from committing *hari kiri* after the Russo-Japanese War. The affirmation of the humanity by the Emperor was contained in an Imperial Rescript issued on January 1, 1946 and not, as stated on p. 158, on "a national radio broadcast" by the Emperor "in a very clear fashion." The only personal broadcast by the Emperor was in connection with the surrender in 1945. (4) The mention of the new sects under Shinto (p. 158) creates the impression that these sects were confined to Shinto, whereas actually new sects of Buddhist origin outnumber those of Shinto.

However, in spite of these minor errors which can only be accounted for by inaccuracies on the part of Japanese guides and interpreters, Dr. Braden's presentation makes for better understanding, and that, of course, is the purpose of the book.

(W.P.W.)

a. 大正 b. 乃木

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS?

How many Shinto shrines are there?

The actual number of Shinto Shrines in Japan today is not accurately known. In 1880 there were, according to official government reports, 186,812, not counting the ones within commercial and industrial establishments or within the compounds of private institutions and homes. In 1900 they had increased to 196,357 but by 1920 there were only 115,509, and in 1936, that is, shortly before the beginning of World War II, the total number was 110,967.

The total number of shrines reported in the 1960 *Religions Year Book* of the Ministry of Education was 80,674 as of December 31, 1959. What has happened to the other thirty thousand is uncertain. Some have united for administrative purposes and constitute a single legal organization. A large number of very small wayside shrines and shrines in out-of-the-way places, which never had definite precincts nor much, if any, organization, are not affiliated with any of the associations and have not been incorporated independently. Consequently, they do not appear in any reports. Probably most of them remain intact and are cared for by local residents, but no doubt some have ceased to exist. This is not a new phenomenon. The ancient records report the names of many shrines about which nothing else is known. Incidentally, in the *Engi Shiki*^a ("Detailed Laws of the Engi Period" 921 A.D.) there is a list of 2,861 shrines.

a. 延喜式

What is meant by the term "shrine?" How are they classified?

Many writers in the early Meiji period used the terms "shrine" and "temple" interchangeably to refer to either Buddhist or Shinto sanctuaries. However, it has become customary in recent decades to use the term "temple" for Buddhist sanctuaries and "shrine" for the traditional Shinto sanctuaries. The word "shrine" is a translation of several Japanese terms the most common of which are *jinja*^a (divine dwelling), *jingū*^b (divine palace), *shinden*^c (divine hall), *shaden*^d (dwelling hall), *omiya*^e (august palace), *oyashiro*^f (august dwelling) and *hokora*^g (a small wayside shrine).

The miniature shrine-like structure seen in the homes on the "sacred shelf" (*kami-dana*),^h which is usually called in English a "god shelf," is ordinarily referred to as *kami-dana*, but sometimes it is called a *miya*, or *miya-gatai* (literally, "shrine-form"). Some shrines may have special terms for this structure. At Yasukuni Shrine it is called *shinshōji* that is, "sacred place."

In a Shinto context these all mean "a dwelling for the kami." Prior to the end of World War II shrines were government institutions and the use of these terms was restricted by law to state shrines. With the disestablishment of Shrine Shinto in the fall of 1945 this legal restriction was abolished, but there is no indication that these terms are being widely used by any other type of institution.

To distinguish a main sanctuary from a subordinate sanctuary, the term *honden*^k (main hall) is also used. The term *jingū* and *jinja* and the endings *-gū*^l and *-ja*,^m also pronounced *-sha*,ⁿ are used commonly as the final component in shrine names. Examples of such usage may be seen in the following: Meiji Jingū,^o Yasukuni

a. 神社 b. 神宮 c. 神殿 d. 社殿 e. お宮 f. お社 g. 祠 h. 神棚
i. 宮型 j. 神床 k. 本殿 l. 宮 m. 社 n. 社 o. 明治神宮

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

Jinja,^a Tōshō-gū,^b and Shōkon-sha.^c

As may be surmised from the explanations given above, the ideograph for *gū*, also pronounced *miya*, means "palace." *Jingū*, therefore, means a "kami's palace" and is used as a title for "shrines of a special status, "that is, those closely associated with the Imperial Family. The ending *-gū* after a proper noun has the same meaning but it is applied to shrines having a relatively lower status than *jingū*. A *jinja* is an ordinary shrine, and the ending *-sha*, which has the same meaning, is used for shrines having a relatively lower status. Regardless of what has just been said above, the terms *jinja* and *omiya* in common parlance are generally interchangeable.

A different type of classification, no longer in current use but often encountered in pre-war documents and books, and occasionally found on the name posts of some shrines, is the pre-disestablishment official classification of the government into: government (*kampeishad*), national (*kokuheishae*), prefectural (*kensha^f* or *fusha^g*), district (*gōsha^h*), village (*sonshaⁱ*), and shrines without rank (*mu-kaku-sha^j*).

The government and national shrines*together were called *kankoku-hei-sha*, and were further divided into three grades: great (*taik^k*), medium (*chū^l*), and small (*shō^m*); but, except where technical accuracy was required, these terms were not used. For example, Katoriⁿ Shrine in Chiba prefecture was a *kampeitaisha^o*; Tsurugaoka Hachiman^p Shrine in Kamakura, a *kokuhei chūsha^q*; and Ōkunitama^r Shrine in Fuchū^s outside Tokyo a *kokuhei shōsha^t* but

a. 靖国神社 *b.* 東照宮 *c.* 招魂社 *d.* 官幣社 *e.* 国幣社 *f.* 県社 *g.* 府社
h. 郷社 *i.* 村社 *j.* 無格社 *k.* 大 *l.* 中 *m.* 小 *n.* 香取 *o.* 官幣大社
p. 八幡 *q.* 国幣中社 *r.* 大國魂 *s.* 府中 *t.* 国幣小社

* The terms "government" and "national" shrines are not very satisfactory, but appear to be the best that can be found. For a detailed historical explanation of the use of these terms the reader is referred to the footnote on page 12 of Dr. D.C. Holtom's "The National Faith of Japan," (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., LTD., 1938)

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

these expressions were never in common use. The Grand Shrine of Ise (Ise Dai Jingū^a) and the Grand Shrine of Izumo (Izumo Taisha^b) are two of a few cases in which the grade is ordinarily considered to be a part of the name. However, the correct name for the Grand Shrine of Ise is simply "Jingū," that is "The Shrine."

In the same general classification was a group of twenty-seven shrines devoted to the veneration of those who had rendered specially noteworthy service to the Emperor. These shrines were called special government shrines (*bekkaku kampei-sha*^c).

In July, 1951, the Association of Shinto Shrines (Jinja Honchō^d) temporarily classified all shrines into *sōshae*, that is, main shrines, and *shoshaf*, that is, all other shrines. The *sōsha* were the former government and national shrines (*kankokuhei-sha*^e). In 1951, however, this classification was changed to *beppyō jinja*^h (special list shrines) and *jinja*ⁱ, that is, shrines. The special list shrines are the former government and national shrines plus some of the very influential and more active shrines, such as Nogi Shrine in Tokyo.

a. 伊勢大神宮 b. 出雲大社 c. 別格官幣社 d. 神社本庁 e. 宗社 f. 諸社
g. 官国幣社 h. 別表神社 i. 神社 j. 乃木

CHRONOLOGY FOR 1961

(January—March)

Jan. 1 —According to the Japan Bible Society, some 1,887,000 copies of the Bible were distributed during the year 1960 (Nov. 1959—Oct. 1960).

Jan. 3 —The Dalai Lama's mother and brother arrived in Tokyo unexpectedly. They were welcomed by the National Council for Tibetan Problems.

Jan. 10 —The abbot of Kōdō Kyōdan, the Rev. Shōdō Okano, left for India, Ceylon and Nepal to visit places hallowed in Buddhist history. —The chief abbot of the Nishi Honganji Sect, the Rev. Kōshō Ōtani met with Prime Minister Ikeda, and the Ministers of Education and of Foreign Affairs. He urged the government to take the necessary steps to realize the spirit of Article 9 of the Fundamental Law of Education which provides that religion must be duly respected.

Jan. 11 —The Council for Inter-faith Cooperation sponsored a meet-

ing for the 1958 Nobel Peace Prize winner, Rev. Dominic Pire, O.P. (49) of Belgium. During his stay in Japan, Father Pire was received in audience by Emperor Hirohito, met Prime Minister Ikeda, lectured to a Tokyo audience of 1200 persons, spoke on the radio, and appeared on TV.

—A party led by the Reverend Gyōin Hashimoto, abbot of Yaku-shiji Temple, left for India to study present-day Indian Buddhism.

Jan. 12 —According to the Chūgai Nippō, Nishi Honganji is planning to build a branch temple in Brazil, the new capital of Brazil.

Jan. 14 —The abbot of Myōshinji (Rinzai Zen), the Rev. Taikō Furukawa, returned from the U.S.

Jan. 15 —Mrs. Sayo Kitamura, the foundress of the so-called Dancing Religion (Tenshō Kōtai Jingū-kyō) left for America. (This is Mrs. Kitamura's third trip since 1952).

Jan. 17 — Higashi Honganji has built a new broadcasting station.

CHRONOLOGY FOR 1961

—The Sino-Japanese Christian Exchange Society has started its work at the Christian Center in Ginza, Tokyo.

—The Oblate Fathers' Our Lady of Hope Seminary (Tokyo) was dedicated.

Jan. 21 —The National Cultural Conference, a group consisting mainly of "progressives," had a discussion on such subjects as: interference with freedom of faith, the labor movement and the new religions. The meeting decided to oppose any attempt to place the Ise Shrine and other shrines under governmental administration.

Jan. 23 —The Religious Peace Association submitted a letter to the General Assembly of the United Nations urging international control of nuclear weapons.

Jan. 24 —The 7th Congress for Rural Youth sponsored by the National Association of YMCAs opened in Tokyo. The main aim of the congress is to promote the modernization of villages.

Jan. 26 —The Cultural Interchange Institute for Buddhists sponsored a lecture by M. Rene de Berpal, editor of "France-Asie," at Tsukiji

Honganji in Tokyo.

Jan. 28 —President Daisaku Ikeda of Sōka Gakkai departed on an 18-day tour of Southern Asia.

—The Japan Buddhist Nuns Association was established. The Association has a program of extensive activities for the benefit of nuns and lay women.

Jan. 30—A memorial service for Mahatma Gandhi was held in Tokyo under the auspices of the Indian Embassy.

Feb. 1—The Association of Shinto Shrines (Jinja Honchō) observed the 15th anniversary of its founding.

—It was reported that the first regularly scheduled Roman Catholic television program began in Osaka (Station YTV). Now shown twice a month, it is expected to become a weekly program. News was released that a new Catholic Information Center opened in Kyoto. Its purpose is to interest non-Christians in the Catholic Church. A modern 4-story building in downtown Kyoto, the Center offers stereo-music concerts, English classes, and a gift shop.

Feb. 5 —Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan

CHRONOLOGY FOR 1961

(United Church of Christ in Japan) has decided to build a center of its own which is to include the offices of affiliated organizations.

Feb. 6 —Rissshō Kōsei Kai opened a course to train its group leaders in new methods of propaganda.

Feb. 9 —The Indian Ambassador, on behalf of the Indian Government, presented about 190 scientific books to the Tokyo Ramakrishna Vedanta Association.

Feb. 16 —Dr. Shin-ichi Hisamatsu of Hanazono University in Kyoto has received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for a two year study of Zen.

Feb. 22 —The Association of Shinto Shrines (Jinja Honchō) has initiated a campaign to collect signatures to promote legislation prohibiting the defamation of the Imperial Family.

Feb. 27 —On the occasion of the 750th anniversary of Saint Hōnen, founder of the Jōdo Sect, the Emperor bestowed upon him the honorary posthumous title of "Wajun Great Master" (Wajun Daishi). Commemorative services are to be observed both in Tokyo and Kyoto in the following months.

Mar. 1 —The 32nd anniversary of the founding of Seichō no Ie (House of Growth) was observed at the Tokyo headquarters.

Mar. 2 —The annual convention of the Myōshinji Sect (Rinzai-Zen) approved a reorganization which includes approval of the marriage of monks which hitherto has not been permitted.

—Dr. John A. Mackay, former president of Princeton Theological Seminary, who is on a round-the-world lecture tour, arrived in Tokyo.

Mar. 7 —The Ōsaka District Court has found several members of Sōka Gakkai guilty of violating the election law in connection with the Upper House election of 1957.

Mar. 10 — The Nishi Honganji Sect opened the first of two mammoth celebrations (*Daionki*) in commemoration of the 700th anniversary of the death of the founder of Shin Buddhism, Saint Shinran.

Mar. 12 —A report of the Constitution Research Committee on the status of the Emperor points out some ambiguities in the present regulations concerning the status

of the Emperor, e.g., his relation to Ise Shrine, and concludes that a clarification of this point is necessary.

Mar. 15 —The Yakushi-dō of Tōshōgū, Nikkō, a national treasure and one of the representative temple buildings of the Edo period, was damaged by fire.

—A service commemorating the 1,360th anniversary of Prince Shōtoku was celebrated at the Shiten-nōji Temple, Ōsaka. About 10,000 people attended.

Mar. 16 —The Japan Buddhist Association made a gift of two bells to Tibetan refugees in India.

Mar. 19 —A new library building at International Christian University, Mitaka, Tokyo, was dedicated.

Mar. 22 —The Women's Association of the World Federation of Buddhists was established at Nishi

Honganji, Kyoto. The Federation reports some 530,000 members, including 50,000 in Nishi Honganji organizations in Japan and 30,000 in North and South America, Hawaii etc.

Mar. 23 —The National Christian Council of Japan at its 14th general assembly approved the union of the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council.

Mar. 28 —According to Mr. Kobayashi of the Education Association of Christian Schools the number of students attending Christian schools has increased by 170% in the last 9 years. It is difficult to get Christian teachers. The percentage of Christian teachers in these schools is only 56%.

Mar. 30 —A 4-story wing with 105 beds was added to the Catholic hospital, Seibo Byōin, in Tokyo.

INSTITUTE NEWS

A word from the editor

After a very profitable seven-months furlough abroad the editor is glad to be back at his desk. He regrets very much, however, that in his absence, due to circumstances beyond control, it was not possible to publish the June issue on schedule. When he departed in December, 1960, he made arrangements for publication of both the March and June issues, and regrets that the publication schedule could not be maintained. As this issue is being mailed, the September issue is in the press and should be out late in the month.

A large number of readers were kind enough to return the questionnaire enclosed in the December issue. Reading these on return from abroad has proved to be both a pleasant as well as an informative experience. The pleasure came from the expressions of appreciation. It is pleasant to feel that the druggery of the editorial desk is worthwhile. However, the real value of the replies was in the very thoughtful suggestions which they contained.

A discussion on how these suggestions can be implemented will appear later. In this issue we are just sharing with you the comments as they were written. If you haven't sent yours in, maybe this will stimulate you to do so. It is never too late for suggestions.

William P. Woodland

Here are some of the suggestions :

- “An occasional longer monograph”
- “Articles by leading Buddhist or Shinto priests and scholars giving their respective criticisms of Christianity.”
- “Report of research in religion that would be valuable for missionaries, with suggestions for missionaries carrying on their own research. I realize this is what the journal gives us already, but wonder if it could help us further in doing research that might be more directly related to the carrying on a ‘dialogue’ with other religions.”
- “Translations into English of portions of the sacred literature of Japanese religions, and portions of their publications.”
- “A systematic analysis of important articles about religion in outstanding Japanese periodicals will be more instructive than radio or televi-discussions, which are less profound.....”
- “Articles on the present state of the old religions.”
- “Omit Chronology, because it is inaccurate and obsolete when published.
- “The Japanese view of nature as it relates to religion in Japan.”
- “The peculiarly Japanese contributions to Buddhism.”
- “A statement by the Ministry of Education concerning the basis of the proposed ‘moral education’.”
- “The round-table conferences are particularly good. Could we have more of same—a series, perhaps around topics of ‘common concern’ in ethics...”
- “Influence of Christianity on older Japanese religions.”
- “Neo-Confucianism in post-war Japan.”
- “Articles on the indiginization of Japanese Christianity.”
- “Practical methodology used in gaining or attracting converts.”

[This, of course, refers to all religions. Ed.]

Words of appreciation :

- “As a layman interested in religion and Japan I find the magazine invaluable. The variety in Japanese religious thought makes it extremely interesting.”
- “Have appreciated every issue. Although the NHK panel discussions have been helpful, the Round Table Conferences have not been worth the space given to them. Looking forward to more presentations of Japanese religions individually by qualified believers as well as background and interpretative material by religious scholars.”
- “I enjoy ‘Contemporary Religions in Japan’ very much and I find it very helpful in my work.”
- “I find your entire publication helpful and hope that its makeup as it is at present will continue to be used in the future also. Panels and round table discussions make reading easier for busy people, but I realize that these cannot be used exclusively.”
- “Some articles are rather propagandistic, self-expositions rather than a thorough analysis of Japanese religions; —somewhat superficial or too generally aimed at readers abroad rather than men here. Necessity of deepening. Please add precise date and the title of panel discussions, not only from the tape of the Japanese Broadcasting Co., and for scientific accuracy specify clearly, who said what, not only C,S,O, etc.”
- “I appreciate the analysis of statistics and also the translations of relevant material.”
- “I enjoy the journal as is. Keep up the good work.”
- “H.N. McFarland’s scholarly and very interesting article is exceptionally valuable. Would like to see more of his writings.”
- “A most interesting publication, for which I am very grateful. But can the spelling be more carefully checked?”